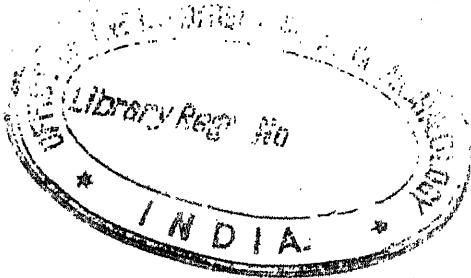


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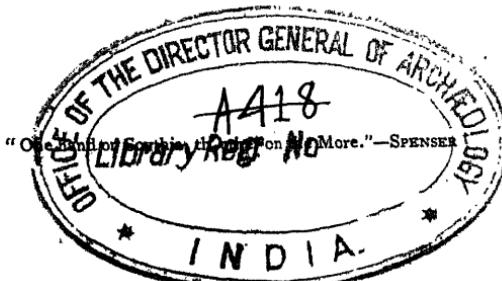
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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XXVIII. Nos. 55 & 56.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1909.



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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1909.

THE REFORMED INDIAN COUNCILS AND  
FREE TRADE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE *Times* of May 24, 1909, in its wonderful "Empire Day" issue, has given to the world what may well be termed an Imperial British Encyclopædia. And no part of the Empire has been better or more fully treated than India, that *Imperium in Imperio* which is the Empire's most glorious appanage, in striking contrast to the neglect or indifference with which India was treated, according to Lord Morley's very reasonable complaint in his speech at Oxford on June 12, in the otherwise admirable speeches delivered to the Imperial Press Conference.

In the *Times*'s encyclopædic review of the circumstances of our great Eastern Dependency, the article on "British Fiscal Policy and Indian Interests" covers the whole ground of this great question, so far as it especially affects the interests of India and the Indian peoples on the one side, and the interests of British and Colonial traders and working-men on the other, more fully than has hitherto been attempted.

Perhaps the most interesting of the many points made by the *Times* in this weighty exposition of Indian policy is that which deals with the effect on the Indian fiscal system.

that is certain to follow "the extended association of Indians with the British administration of the country." The *Times* predicts that this increase of purely Indian influence in the reformed Councils will tend "to bring the Indian fiscal system more into accord with honest and loyal Indian feeling, and to emancipate it to some extent from the thralldom of faddists in the House of Commons"—in other words, that the rule of the Cobden Club, which has done so much to cripple Indian industry, is not likely to remain long unchallenged by the representatives of Indian public opinion in the new Councils.

That such a movement, in the direction of some form of Protection for Indian industries, is absolutely certain to arise out of Lord Morley's reforms is admitted by everyone who has any knowledge whatever of the general trend of opinion in India. I have spent four months of the past winter in India, in active and friendly communication with many of the acknowledged leaders of Indian thought, and I have no hesitation in declaring my firm conviction that fiscal reform, in one shape or another, will be the first aim and object of the reformed Councils. And I venture very confidently to express the further opinion, based on friendly conversations with Indian gentlemen of the highest position and character, that the particular shape in which the very reasonable Indian demand for protection will ultimately be pressed by our Indian fellow-subjects depends almost entirely on the attitude which the United Kingdom may now take up towards that demand. We are at the parting of the ways.

If the British reply to that demand be simply a reiteration of the shibboleths of "Insular Free Trade," which all Indian economists and statesmen to a man deride as unworthy of the knowledge and intelligence of the twentieth century; or if we say, as Mr. W. Tattersall, speaking for Free Traders generally, has often said, "So long as British policy is one of Free Trade, so long must India adhere to the fiscal policy of Free Trade," then I am quite certain

that the Indian demand will be, not merely for protection against the protected and subsidized goods of the dumping foreigner, but also for protection against Lancashire and other British manufacturers as well.

On the other hand, if our British reply to that Indian demand be a frank offer of Imperial Preference—that is to say, protection against the dumping foreigner, coupled with the abolition or mitigation of all duties between the United Kingdom and India, and, of course, the abolition of such iniquitous duties as the Indian Excise duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the products of Indian cotton-mills—then I feel sure that nearly all the best and most loyal of the members of the various Indian Councils will as frankly accept what they will see to be a fair and equal give-and-take bargain as between England and India.

The attitude of Mr. W. Tattersall and his so-called "Free Traders" is an insult to the intelligence of the Indian educated classes, in whose ranks there are economists as learned and as able as those of any country in the world. And how such an attitude can be approved by gentlemen like Sir Charles Schwann, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Byles, Mr. Mond, and the 200 Liberal Members of Parliament who form the "Indian Parliamentary Committee," and profess to have a respect for Indian public opinion, has always been a puzzle to me. Indeed, I should imagine that their curiously double-faced attitude—of Free Traders in Manchester and Nottingham and of out-and-out Protectionists in Calcutta—must be a puzzle, both to their constituents in Manchester and Nottingham, whose goods they would boycott in Calcutta, and to their constituents in Calcutta when they read their Free-Trade speeches in England.

On the other hand, the attitude of the Tariff Reformers towards this question has throughout shown the warmest appreciation of the natural rights of India, whilst equally insisting on the reciprocal rights of England. That attitude was fittingly expressed by Mr. Chamberlain in November,

1903—the very year of the inception of the Tariff Reform movement—in his famous letter to Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, which I must here quote *in extenso*:

HIGHBURY,  
MOOR GREEN,  
BIRMINGHAM,  
*November 3, 1903.*

DEAR SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE,

I have purposely omitted any reference to India in my speeches, because I have had no opportunity of acquainting myself with the opinion either of the Indian Council here or of the Government of India, or, indeed, of any representative authority. I do not think, under any circumstances, that India could be forced to join unless there were general assent on the part of the Indian authorities. Personally, I believe she would be greatly the gainer, as she would have preferential arrangements with regard to tea, indigo, and wheat, and other of her principal products. But as she has not at present joined the self-governing Colonies in asking for such preference, it is not necessary for me to deal with the matter at present, and in my opinion her wishes ought to be ascertained, as far as that is possible, before anything is done.

I am,

Yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Nothing could possibly be fairer than this, both to India and to England. It still stands as the epitome of the Tariff Reform policy in regard to India; and inasmuch as it was published, as I have already mentioned, in the very first year of Mr. Chamberlain's great campaign in favour of Tariff Reform, it is simply amazing how "Free Traders" can have the audacity to go about the country, and (especially in Lancashire) to pretend to the people that Mr. Chamberlain has "ignored" or "neglected" the Indian aspect of the fiscal problem.

This letter was alluded to in the *Times* article on Empire Day, as well as the equally important declaration of Mr. Balfour that Imperial Preference must always mean "Freer Trade"—that is to say, that whatever fiscal changes may be made under Imperial Preference in the trade relations

between the various States of the British Empire, they must always be in the direction of "Freer Trade"—the abolition, or at least the mitigation, of any existing mutual taxation within the Empire.

And I have no hesitation in expressing a very strong belief that if the spirit of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour—the spirit of friendly bargain and mutual give-and-take—be that in which we approach this question in the enlarged Indian Councils, and if we altogether lay aside the hectoring and brow-beating tone of Mr. W. Tattersall and his Free Trade friends, then we shall be met in the same friendly spirit by those great Indian economists whose names were given in the *Times*—and many others might be added—who will assuredly find places in the reformed Councils. Then we shall see a simultaneous abolition of the Indian Excise duties on Indian cottons, with an abolition or mitigation of the British import duties on Indian tea, Indian tobacco, Indian sugar, and so forth, and a similar abolition or mitigation of the Indian import duties on British manufactures, to be recouped by fair duties on the protected and subsidized goods of the foreigner.

It is perfectly obvious that Imperial Preference on these honourable lines—honourable alike to India and to England—will enormously increase the volume of the trade of India with the rest of the Empire, and especially with England and Scotland. It will, naturally and properly, foster the sentiment of national self-respect; for in this way, at last, the fiscal policy of India will be in accord with both her national and her Imperial prepossessions, and will be "emancipated" (as the *Times* puts it) "from the thralldom of faddists in the House of Commons." Her policy will be her own, and not one dictated by the bigots of the Cobden Club, whose arrogant rule has been protested against by every Indian economist from the time of the late Mr. Justice Ranade to the present day.

In this connection, it is amazing to find that a politician holding the position of Colonel Seely, M.P., as a subordinate

member of Mr. Asquith's Government, and a Lancashire member, should trot out once more an ancient figment about the possible result of Imperial Preference between England and India, which for sheer stupidity and mendacity rivals the famous "terminological inexactitude" of Chinese slavery. It is impossible to suspect such a man as Colonel Seely of either stupidity or mendacity, so it seems altogether impossible to explain the allegation he appears to have put forward. In the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* of June 7, this is what is said of him :

"He does not stop at assertion. He puts a case that might actually arise from Tariff imposition as applied to cotton ; India would claim that her factories must be protected, and thus the whole of Great Britain's millions of exports would be excluded."

Now, it seems quite impossible to believe that a politician of Colonel Seely's position should be ignorant of the following facts :

1. That at this moment, and for years past, India has "claimed that her factories must be protected"—with all the strength at her disposal at every meeting of Indian Nationalists that has ever been held ; that she bitterly detests his Free Trade ; and, as she gets no relief from the Government, she is now taking the matter into her own hands, in the only way in which she can evade the fanatical oppression of the Cobden Club, by means of the great and growing *Swadeshi* movement. Can Colonel Seely honestly allege that India's "claim" can be more strongly urged than it is at the present moment ? If he will only show how, I will guarantee him that his method will be quickly tried by the Indian Nationalists !

2. Colonel Seely must be perfectly well aware that, under Imperial Preference, the United Kingdom—so far from "protecting" herself against India—will abolish or mitigate all his "Free Trade" taxes on Indian goods, such as his 70 per cent. on Indian tea, his 300 per cent. on Indian tobacco, and so forth. Mr. Chamberlain, in his letter

quoted above, has specifically mentioned this fact—Mr. Balfour has declared it in his promise of “Freer Trade” under Imperial Preference—and it has been indicated in hundreds and thousands of articles by other Tariff Reformers. Can Colonel Seely honestly allege that this “Preferential” treatment of India by the United Kingdom will warrant India in protecting herself against the United Kingdom, “and thus the whole of Great Britain’s millions of exports would be excluded”? The allegation is so monstrous, especially when put forward by a member of the Government, that it will be little less than a public scandal if Colonel Seely does not take up this challenge, and explain the grounds on which he has put it forward.

3. Colonel Seely must be perfectly well aware that the very meaning of the term “Imperial Preference”—or, as Mr. Balfour called it, “Freer Trade”—gives the lie direct to any such foolish suggestion as that the Preferential system might encourage Protection by one State of the British Empire against any other State. Where inter-Imperial taxation has grown by long usage—as in Canada or Australia—to be a necessary part of the national fiscal system; all that can be stipulated for is, not “Free Trade” pure and simple, but Mr. Balfour’s “Freer Trade.” But there is no such prescription in the case of India—her existing fiscal system was created by Lord Elgin only fourteen or fifteen years ago. Colonel Seely must be aware that in the case of India, Tariff Reform may, indeed, give Indian industries and British industries “Protection” against the dumping foreigner—and to that extent it may fairly and honestly be attacked by rabid Cobdenite Free Traders, such as he seems to be. But for any politician, who is both intelligent and honest, to affect to believe that India’s Imperial Preference towards Great Britain may take the form of excluding “the whole of Great Britain’s millions of exports”—or, for that matter, any part of it—well, to put it mildly, it seems to me that a good deal of explanation is urgently called for!

4. And, lastly, does Colonel Seely really mean seriously to state that it is his opinion that, in any circumstances whatever, and under any fiscal system whatever, it would be possible to find a Viceroy who would propose to protect Indian factories against Lancashire and Scotland and the rest of our manufacturing centres? Will he state that he believes that any Secretary of State or any Government would assent to such a wicked and monstrous proposal? And will he state that he believes that any House of Commons would allow such a Government to remain in power for a day longer? The Indian dislike for Free Trade will never be cured by Cobdenite lectures, which Indian economists deride and despise. But I firmly believe—and I ask Colonel Seely and other Cobdenites frankly and honestly to consider the probabilities of the case—that, so far as Free Trade between India and the United Kingdom is concerned, the best and most high-minded Indian Nationalists quite recognize that Protection against Great Britain would be, as Tariff Reformers allege, an unfriendly and unworthy act that would be rendered impossible by the mutual benefits between India and Great Britain for which Tariff Reform stands. Under the present Cobdenite rule India is dragooned into submission to the inevitable in her fiscal system; under Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference, India will hold the position which is her right, and will receive Preference from the sister-States of the Empire in return for the Preference she will accord. She will not obtain that full protection which has been asked for under the name of Indian *Swadeshi*; but I feel certain she will see that in such a case “half a loaf is better than no bread”—especially as it will cement the friendship between India and Great Britain, and that such a compromise is obviously a fair one, honourable alike to India and to Great Britain.

It is indeed significant of the growing influence of Imperial Preference in India that Sir Henry Cotton, speaking in the House of Commons the other day on

Mr. Mackarness's amendment on the Indian Councils Bill, deliberately based the whole of his argument on the assumption that Indian *Swadeshi* is identical with Tariff Reform. In India, Sir Henry Cotton, as a member and an ex-President of the National Indian Congress party, is absolutely committed to Indian *Swadeshi*, which advocates the protection of Indian products against all imported goods, whether British or foreign, whether made in Manchester or Nottingham, or made in Hamburg or Bremen or elsewhere. Of course, he knows perfectly well that in this respect Indian *Swadeshi* has hitherto been opposed to Tariff Reform, for Imperial Preference in India would protect equally both British and Indian manufacturers against the "industrial inroads" of the foreigner. Imperial Preference would abolish, as far as may be, the Indian import duties on Lancashire cotton goods, on Yorkshire woollens, on Nottingham hosiery, and so forth; while offering to India a fair return for this important reform, by abolishing *pari passu* the Indian Excise duty on Indian cotton goods, and abolishing or mitigating the exorbitant British taxation of Indian tea, coffee, tobacco, etc. Imperial Preference would retain the import duties on foreign goods, both for revenue purposes and as a set-off against the unfair advantages they possess in the way of protection or subsidies. Thus, Imperial Preference would benefit both Indian and British industries alike, and, as I have said above, I think the best men in the Indian Nationalist party are coming round to the view that such a fiscal system is better than one that would deliberately injure British industries. And even of the extremists Sir Henry Cotton now says, "they were the advocates of the protection of home industries and they wished to boycott foreign products." The member for Nottingham could hardly class the manufactures of Nottingham, when sold within the British Empire, as "foreign" products; so it may be presumed he is here speaking of products that are really foreign to the British Empire, such as those of Germany or

Japan. Only the other day, at the Madras Industrial Conference, the chairman of the reception committee, the Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, C.I.E., pointed out that already Germany, by her protective duties and her bounties and her subsidies, is able to "flood the Indian markets with her products." And he indicated that Japan, by similar methods, was becoming even a more formidable foe of Indian industries. He said : "By this unfair competition the large hosiery department of the Bomanji Petit Mills of Bombay has had to be closed." Japan and Germany, between them, have practically ousted both Nottingham (Sir Henry Cotton's constituency) and Bombay from the hosiery trade of India!

The papers read at the various annual meetings of the Indian Industrial Conference—and especially those read at Madras a few weeks ago—are simply full of concrete instances like this, of the injury done to the industries of India by the Cobdenite folly that is misnamed "Free Trade." It is shown that matches, which are sold by the million in every part of India—and for which, as is proved by an erudite writer, India possesses unlimited supplies of the finest material in the world—are actually brought all the way from Japan, from Sweden, from Norway, and from Austria! A decade ago the cotton manufacture of India and the cotton imports from protected foreign countries might both be accounted "nascent industries," but in the interval, owing to the infamous Excise duty of 3½ per cent. on Indian products, and the protection, bounties, and subsidies enjoyed by the German and other foreign importers, the foreign industry has increased fourfold, while the Indian industry has only doubled! The recently published Blue-book, giving the tables of Indian foreign trade for last year, tells the same story of a large number of industries. Now, does Sir Henry Cotton, or Sir Charles Schwann, or Colonel Seely, or any of the other Liberal Members of Parliament who profess to take an interest in Indian affairs, imagine that all this obvious injury can be

inflicted on Indian industries, and that the reformed and enlarged Indian Councils will "take it lying down"? So far as the righteousness of their cause is concerned, they know that they possess the sympathy of practically all the economists and statesmen of the civilized world outside the comparatively insignificant and ever-dwindling realms of the Cobden Club in Great Britain. They know that, even in Great Britain itself, absolutely every by-election, out of the many that have taken place during the last two years, has shown a huge and ever-increasing majority in favour of Tariff Reform, and they know that Tariff Reform (though it will not give Indians as much as Colonel Seely and the Free Traders tell the Lancashire men it will give), will, at any rate, give them fair protection against the unfair competition of the protected foreigner, and put them on a fair level with Great Britain and the Colonies. It will give India an advantage, not only for her food-stuffs and raw materials, but also for her young and struggling manufactures, throughout the British Empire—that is, in the richest, the most lucrative, and the most progressive markets of the world. Such a splendid opportunity for the rapid development of nascent industries in an intelligent, industrious, and thrifty community has never been offered in the world's history, as that which will, I trust, be offered to India after the next General Election in the United Kingdom. And that the reformed Councils will be ready, and even eager, to take advantage of it is, I think, shown by every recent utterance of Indian economists. I will conclude with the words of the Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar at the Madras Conference: "Whatever action may be finally taken by the Government of India in regard to the development of our industries, one thing is clear, and that is, we are now in a better position than before to determine what our sphere of action and line of policy should be in the future, and to concentrate our energies in carrying out that policy to a successful issue."

## MOSLEM-HINDU ENTENTE CORDIALE.

By S. M. MITRA.

"Truth needs no colour; beauty, no pencil."

SHAKESPEARE.

LORD MORLEY'S Indian reforms have attracted a great deal of attention, on the part of English people, to the Mahomedans in India. Those who are responsible for the good government of India, as well as those who only take an academical interest in it, should have plain facts placed before them, and should not be led away by catch-words and the elastic phraseology of agitators and wire-pullers, who, with even the best of motives, often forget, in the heat of controversy, how far heredity and associations influence religious and racial characteristics. It can be shown by quotations from Indian history that, however different the Turk or the Central Asian Mahomedan may be from the Hindu, the Indian Mahomedan, after centuries of residence in India, has been Hinduized by the laws of heredity and the influence of environment.

The bluest of blue blood of the Indian Mahomedan is rarely free from Hindu blood. The majority of Indian Mahomedans are the descendants of Hindu converts, some of whom to this day, though professing Islam, observe more or less Hindu rites and customs. In one word, the tradition of the Indian Mahomedan is to no small extent Hindu.

Carlyle truly says : "What an enormous *camera obscura* magnifier is tradition ! How a thing grows in the human memory, in the human imagination, when love, worship, and all that lies in the human heart, is there to encourage it ; and in the darkness, in the entire ignorance, without date or document, no book, no Arundel marble, only here and there some dull monumental cairn !"

A glance at the history of India will show that Hindu blood does not only run in the veins of most of the middle

and lower class Indian Mahomedans, but flows in the veins of such of the highest of the Mahomedan aristocracy as are descendants of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi.

The great Mogul Emperor Akbar was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth. In Akbar's seraglio there were several Hindu ladies who occupied in it a position as high as that of the Moslem ladies. His principal consort was not a Mahomedan lady, but a Hindu Princess, who was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall. Her son was the Mogul Emperor, Jahangir, who sat on the Delhi throne from 1605 to 1627, as the son and successor of the great Akbar.

Emperor Jahangir also married a Hindu Princess, named Balmati, the daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. Her son was Emperor Shah Jahan, who reigned from 1628 to 1658.

Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb, though by no means pro-Hindu, married a Rajput Princess. Her son, Emperor Bahadur Shah I., succeeded Aurangzeb, and reigned from 1707 to 1712. Then we come to Emperor Ahmad Shah; who reigned from 1748 to 1754. His mother was the well-known Hindu Princess Udhama Bai. The Kudsia Bagh at Delhi was named after her, for, as the Empress of India, she was called Kudsia Begum.

In 1754, Bahadur Shah was succeeded by Alamgir II., who was the son of Emperor Jahandar Shah by a Hindu lady named Anup Bai. Alamgir II. reigned from 1754 to 1759.

Now we come to the last King of Delhi. Bahadur Shah II. was by a Hindu mother named Lall Bai. He succeeded to the Delhi throne in 1837, and was removed to Rangoon for complicity in the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

So it will be seen that since 1605 no less than six Mogul Emperors of Delhi—viz., (1) Jahangir, (2) Shah Jahan, (3) Bahadur Shah I., (4) Ahmad Shah, (5) Alamgir II., and (6) Bahadur Shah II.—out of a total of twelve,

have been by Hindu mothers. In other words, half of the number of Delhi Emperors of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have been sons of Hindu women. Some of the daughters of these Hindu ladies—wives of Moslem Emperors and nobles—were married to the Mahomedan aristocracy of India.

These were by no means solitary instances of Moslem Hindu marriages among the Indian aristocracy. A few more instances may be quoted to show that such alliances were in vogue for centuries, and that these inter-alliances helped in cementing Moslem-Hindu friendship to an extent of which the superficial student of Indian history cannot possibly form an idea.

Malika Jahan (the Queen of the Universe), another wife of the Emperor Jahangir, was a Hindu lady, the daughter of Rawal Bhim of Jasalmir.

Muazzim, better known as Bahadur Shah I., son of Emperor Aurangzeb, married Raja Rup Singh's daughter.

Naila, the daughter of the Raja of Bhatner, was married to Salar Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughlak. Her son, Firoz Shah, succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1351.

It is also an established historical fact that some of the Hindu ladies who were wives of Moslem Emperors observed all the rites of the Hindu religion. Some of them had their own Hindu temples inside Moslem palaces.

"Virtues of mothers shall occasionally be visited on their children," says Dickens. The instructions received at the mother's knee are never effaced entirely from the soul. As Emerson says, "Men are what their mothers made them." This is abundantly proved in the pages of Indian history. The *entente cordiale* that existed for centuries between the Mahomedans and Hindus in India was no doubt greatly due to the influence of the Hindu mothers of the Moslem Emperors and chiefs in India.

High-sounding Moslem titles often conceal a Hindu origin. For instance, Jalal-ud-din, the ruler of Bengal in the four-

teenth century, was simply a Moslem convert, without a drop of Moslem blood in his veins, his father being Raja Kans Purbi. Jalal-ud-din's original Hindu name was Jitmal.

It is therefore clear that the so-called Moslem aristocracy of India is really Hindu-Moslem by tie of blood as well as by association.

Every careful student of Indian history knows that the Hindu held, and to-day holds, much higher positions under Moslem Government in India than he does under the British Government in India.

The highest positions occupied by Hindus under the British Government are as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and of the Council of India. In the Viceroy's Executive Council the Hindu is one of the six members, and in Lord Morley's Council the Hindu is one of fifteen members; whereas under His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, the premier Mahomedan Prince in India, a Hindu holds the much-coveted post of Prime Minister. In other words, the Mahomedan Prince confers the highest appointment on a Hindu subject in preference to a Mahomedan subject.

Under the Mogul Emperors and Moslem Princes, whether in the Military Service or in the Civil Service, Hindus held much higher positions than they do under the British Government.

Maharaja Chandu Lall was for the first half of the nineteenth century Prime Minister to the Nizam. He so commanded the confidence of his royal Moslem master that he was authorized to sign every document. In Hoondie transactions throughout India to this day the Nizam's capital is called "Chandu Lall Ka Hyderabad," or Chandu Lall's Hyderabad.

Mahomedan magnates have been proud to be known as Rajas—a purely Hindu title. As early as 1370, Malik Faruqi, Governor of Khandesh, called himself Malik Raja when he assumed independence in the province. The Oudh Baron, Tasadduk Rasul Khan, is, to this day, called

a Raja in preference to the Mahomedan title of Nawab (Nabob). His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, when he raised his orthodox Hindu photographer, Lalla Deen Dayal, to the peerage of Hyderabad, gave him the Moslem title of Masawar Jang.

Todar Mall, a Hindu, was Akbar's Finance Minister. Man Singh, another Hindu, was, under Akbar, not only Governor of Bengal, but was also Governor of Moslem Kabul. No native of India has yet held such high positions under the British Government. In 1906 Mr. K. G. Gupta (now a member of Lord Morley's Council), after thirty-two years of admittedly good work in the Indian Civil Service, was by seniority entitled to the officiating appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He was, however, passed over in favour of one of the ruling race without any reason being assigned.

The high positions which the Hindu occupied in the military department under the Mogul Government, are quite beyond his dreams under the British Government. Under the British Government, no native of India, whatever his military talents and qualifications may be, can ever rise to the rank even of a Lieutenant. The Hindu soldiers, therefore, naturally sigh for the days of the Mogul Emperors, when it would have been possible for a Hindu soldier to become a commander.

To give only a few instances : Raja Bijai Mall was in the military service of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. Supkaran Bundela, the Rajput, was an officer in charge of 2,500 troops in the service of Emperor Alamgir. His son, Dalpat Rai, succeeded him in military command. Rai Singh held the rank of Panj Hazari, or officer in charge of 5,000 troops, under Jahangir. Raja Bihari Mal and Raja Bhagwan Das held high ranks in the Delhi Imperial Army. Man Khan, the brother of Udham Bai, the mother of Emperor Ahmad Shah, was raised to the rank of commander in charge of 6,000 troops (Shash Hazari), with the title of Motaqid-ud-Daulah.

Was not therefore the Mogul Government really a Mogul-Hindu Government? It was more Hindu in its composition than the British Indian Government to-day. It is clear that for centuries Moslem statesmen have regarded Hindus as faithful guardians of Moslem interests. Would they have trusted the Hindu to such an extent if the interests of the Hindu were really opposed to those of the Indian Moslems? Surely the Mogul rulers of India were as anxious to safeguard Moslem interests as the three-year-old Association the "All India Moslem League."

In literary circles the Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale* was more noticeable. Ranchor Das was invited by his Moslem colleagues to give them a work on the art of writing Persian prose and poetry. The *Daqiq-ul-Insha*, written in 1732, was accepted by Mahomedans as a safe guide to the art for over a century. The Sanskrit work *Prabodh Chandrodaya* was translated into Persian by Swami Bhopat Rai. *Gulshan Ajaib*, by Ram Singh, written in 1716, is as popular to-day as it was in the last century. Tansukh Rai's *Safinat-us-Shauq*, written in 1756, is to this day popular among upper Indian Mahomedans. Pran Sukh's Persian letter-writer is well known as *Insha Rahat Jat*, written in 1750. Rai Gobind's *Tuhfatul Kulub*, written in 1652, is much admired by Mahomedans. Pundit Chandar Bhan was the author of several Persian works. The best known of his works are *Guldasta*, *Tuhfat-ul-Anwar*, and *Char Chaman*. He was the private secretary to Prince Dara Shikoh, son of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

Hindu writers and poets were great favourites in Moslem Courts. Occasionally, a Hindu poetess became the central figure in Moslem literary circles. Rupmati, the Hindu poetess at the Court of Malik Baiazid (better known as Baz Bahadur) who ruled Malwa in 1554, is well known. Songs coupling her name with that of Baz Bahadur have been handed down to posterity, and are sung by both Moslems and Hindus to this day. Baz Bahadur and

Rupmati are both buried in the centre of the tank at Ujjain.

Hindu ladies have been the subject of distinguished Moslem poets. What is more, in actual life they have supplied themes for Moslem writers of romance. Kula Devi, the beautiful wife of Raja Rai Karan of Gujerat, was taken captive by King Alauddin Khilji in 1297. He married her. Her daughter, Dewal Devi, married Prince Khizr Khan. The love of this royal pair has been immortalized by the Prince of Delhi's Moslem poets—Amir Khusru—in his *Ishkia*. Husain of Ghazni, in his Persian work, has recorded the romantic career of the Hindu Princess Padmavati—how she was forcibly carried away by the Raja of Chitor, and taken from him similarly by King Alauddin in 1303.

The Hindu conversion of the ancestors of the Mahomedans commenced half a century before the birth of the Prophet of Arabia. Naushirvan, the famous Persian King, in A.D. 560, or about ten years before the birth of the founder of Islam, sent a literary mission to India. We all know that the founder of Islam did not preach his doctrines before his fortieth year. The mission was very successful in Hindu India. Among other works which the Persian mission secured was the Sanskrit *Pancha Tantra*. This was translated into Pahlavi, from Pahlavi into Syriac, and under the direction of the Abbasid Khalifs into Arabic by the famous Ibn-ul-Mokaffa in A.D. 750. From the Arabic the father of Persian poetry—Rudaki—put it into Persian verse. A later Persian translation is known as *Kalilah-u-Damnah*. It was revised again in Persia in the fifteenth century, and the polished version is now known as the *Anwari-Suheli* (the Lights of Canopus). Under Akbar's command, his able Minister Abul Fazl carefully went through the various Moslem editions of the Hindu *Pancha Tantra*, and published a new edition, called *Ayar Dānish* or Touchstone of knowledge, for India. It is widely read by both Hindus and Mahomedans of Upper India. The

Mahomedan adaptation of the Hindu work and its re-introduction among Hindus have helped to make the Hindu and the Mahomedan understand the psychology of one another's minds more than any abstract lectures on the subject could do.

Akbar, the Charlemagne of India, promoted effectively the principles of co-operation between the Hindu and the Mahomedan. He founded a literary society for the exchange of thought between the followers of the two religions. His literary society in India was started two centuries before that of Guthrie and Grey in England. Akbar from his throne in India, and Shah Abbas from his throne in Persia, gave a great impetus to the exchange of Moslem and Hindu thought. The result is that the *Gulistan* and the *Bustan*, representing the essence of Persian practical wisdom, have for the last four centuries been the text for both Mahomedan and Hindu youths throughout Upper India. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Hindu and the Mahomedan often take the same identical view of things, which is sometimes quite the reverse of the view which the Anglo-Saxon is disposed to adopt. Let us, for instance, take the English proverb "Delay is dangerous." How different it is from the idea of the Hindu and the Mahomedan! Both of them believe in *festina lente*. The Hindu says "Vilambé karyasiddhi," which is identically expressed in the Mahomedan proverb "Dir āyed durust āyed." Both proverbs signify "Delay means success."

For centuries the Mahomedans, both Arabs and Persians, have regarded India as the true land of wisdom and the birthplace of philosophy. Under Mansur (A.D. 754 to 775) and Harun (A.D. 786 to 809) several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Is there any wonder that Moslem proverbs display the ethical and political notions of the Hindu in a different dress? Sufi-ism is but a Moslem adaptation of the Vedanta school of Hindu philosophy. These points of similarity between Moslem and Hindu

thought are daily discussed by Hindus and Indian Mahomedans, and such similarity creates mutual sympathy and cements the two into one race—at least, in all their dealings with Europeans.

Hindustani—the *lingua franca* of India—is the mother-tongue of tens of millions of both Mahomedans and Hindus. The educated Hindu of Upper India quotes Mahomedan literature in ordinary conversation as does the Mahomedan, whereas to the Mahomedan of Bengal, who does not know any Mahomedan language, Bengali is his mother-tongue.

The Hindu and the Mahomedan have often joined hands in military operations and revolutions. For instance, the military services of General Perron were utilized by the Moslem Prince, the Nizam of Hyderabad, in the nineties of the eighteenth century. As soon as General Perron left the Moslem Prince, his military talents were made use of by the well-known Hindu Prince, Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior. Perron, as Sindhia's general, fought against the British Army under Lord Lake.

In more recent times the Hindu and the Mahomedan have made common cause. During the Indian Mutiny the rebel Hindu sepoy fought not for a Hindu Raja, but for the Moslem King of Delhi. Also Mahomedans fought for the Hindu leader, Nana Sahib, against the British. To the careful student of Indian history such facts are full of significance.

When the Hindu and the Mahomedan are not led away by political wire-pullers, who have their own axes to grind, they recognize that their interests are identically the same—they are both the permanent inhabitants of India. No amount of wire-pulling could convince a thoughtful Mahomedan that the interests of a Mahomedan Prince or a Mahomedan peasant differ from those of a Hindu Prince or a Hindu peasant. Whatever rights the natives of India have under the British Government, the Mahomedans and Hindus enjoy equally. In the same way the limitations of the natives of India are shared equally by Hindu and

Mahomedan. If the Hindu sepoy cannot get the much-coveted Victoria Cross, neither can the Mahomedan sepoy ; if the Mahomedan soldier cannot rise to the rank of even a Lieutenant in the Indian Army, neither can the Hindu soldier.

As I pointed out in an interview on the subject of Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale*, published in *India* dated February 19, 1909, the Councils constituted under the statute of 1892, passed when Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy, have worked for about fifteen years. Both Mahomedans and Hindus have sat in the Legislative Councils. If the interests of the Mahomedans are so much opposed to the interests of the Hindus, surely instances might be found in the records of the deliberations of the various Councils in India. It would have been better for the "All India Moslem League" to quote chapter and verse from the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Councils to prove their case than to indulge in vague surmises. The Moslem agitators have yet to prove how the interests of the Mahomedan peasant differ from those of the Hindu cultivator.

It may be taken for granted that the leading Mahomedan State in India is as jealous to guard the interests of its Mahomedan subjects as the "All India Moslem League." Within the last seventy years three Hindu Prime Ministers—Maharaja Chandu Lal, Maharaja Narendra Prasad, and the present Prime Minister, Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad—have satisfied their Moslem royal masters that in capable Hindu hands Mahomedan interests do not suffer. The Hyderabad territories are divided into four divisions. The Hindu inhabitants of a division presided over by a Mahomedan Commissioner (Subadar) do not complain of oppression ; nor do the Mahomedan inhabitants of a division under a Hindu Commissioner complain of favouritism due to religious motives. The same is the case in the districts of which the divisions are composed.

Among the officials of the Government of India more

are Hindus than Mahomedans, and that fact has in no way affected its success. No Hindu suitor has ever complained that Mr. Justice Ameer Ali (now the London President of the Moslem League) has ever given a judgment adverse to him simply because he was a Hindu. Neither can anyone say that the most orthodox Hindu, Justice Sir Guru Das Banerji, has ever decided a case against a Mahomedan litigant because of the latter's religion. The same thing may with perfect confidence be said about the two Hindu Commissioners, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. K. G. Gupta. Let us take some instances outside Bengal. Sir P. C. Chatterji, ex-Judge of the Lahore Chief Court, and Mr. Justice P. C. Bannerji, of the Allahabad High Court, are both Bengali Brahmans who have dispensed justice to thousands of Mahomedans, both in civil and in criminal cases. There has never been a suspicion of religious partiality at all. Mr. Nilambar Mukerji was for many years Minister to the Maharaja of Kashmir, but he was never unpopular with the Mahomedan inhabitants of Kashmir, who are in the majority.

The Hindu and the Mahomedan, as I have shown from the pages of Indian history, are very old associates. The friendly feeling between them, though occasionally marred, as it has been between the Shia and the Sunni sections of the Mahomedans, has stood the test of time for centuries. Moslem-Hindu co-operation dates much farther back than the sixteenth century, when Akbar reigned. It is not generally known that as early as the tenth century, under Sabaktagin, the father of the great iconoclast, Mahmud of Ghazni, two Hindu Generals commanded the Ghazni army — General Sundar at Herat and General Tilak at Merv, the two great strongholds of Islam in Central Asia. The Mahomedan historian Baihaki, in his well-known work, "Tarikh-us-Sabaktagin," thus describes the appointment of a Hindu General in the Ghazni army: "Shah Masud granted Tilak a gold-embroidered robe, and hung a jewelled necklace of gold round his neck. Kettle-drums

were beaten at his quarters, according to the custom of the Hindu chiefs, and banners with gilded tops were granted."

After a thousand years of close association of the Mahomedan with the Hindu, the Indian Mahomedan has been Hinduized in many respects. Every student of Islam knows that the Prophet of Arabia denounced astrology in the strongest terms; but anyone familiar with Indian bazaars also knows that the Hindu astrologer Jyotishi has his rival, the Mahomedan astrologer known as Rammal. The Hindu believes in good and bad omens; so does the Indian Mahomedan. The wedding (*nika*) ceremony of Islam is a very simple affair of proposal and acceptance; but the Indian Mahomedan has introduced "Shabgasht" (night procession) and other ceremonies, in imitation of the Hindu. Anyone who has watched the Moharram procession in India cannot help noticing that both Hindus and Mahomedans make up the crowd.\*

I cannot do better than quote from my article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated February 10, 1909: "Retired Anglo-Indian officials, like Lord MacDonnell, Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Arundel Arundel, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, and others, in discussing the question of Mahomedan election in the British Press, have all forgotten to peep into the leading Mahomedan State in India for some light on the subject. The 'All India Moslem League,' in its deliberations, does not in any way refer to the working of the elective system under the auspices of the natural leader of Mahomedan India. But what is most surprising is that even Lord Morley did not, in replying to the deputation of the 'All India Moslem League,' refer to the instance of the Legislative Council elections in Moslem Hyderabad. The Mahomedan member of his lordship's Council is a retired official of the Hyderabad Government. Among the distinguished Anglo-Indian Councillors of Lord Morley

\* Even Hindu chiefs in many parts of India fraternize with their Moslem subjects in celebrating the Moharram. In Indore, for instance, the Holkar's *tazia* takes part in the procession.

is a gentleman who was for some years a British resident at the Court of His Highness the Nizam. One would, therefore, have thought that these gentlemen would have told Lord Morley how the elective system in the Legislative Council of Hyderabad worked. Whether Hindu subtlety has in any way injuriously affected the chances of the election of Mahomedans or their political views, or whether there are any grounds for believing that Mahomedan influence in a Mahomedan Government has in any way been used to oppose the election of Hindus, or to convert them to Mahomedan political opinions, can be answered from the records of the Hyderabad Legislative Council.

"The elective system, to choose members for the Hyderabad Legislative Council, was introduced about fourteen years ago by Sir Vikar-ul-Umara, K.C.I.E., the late Prime Minister of Hyderabad. He was one of the most influential Mahomedan nobles of Hyderabad, and had married one of the sisters of the Nizam. Under his scheme for class representation, among other communities, two Vakils (advocates) *as such*, had seats in the Hyderabad Legislative Council. A Hindu voted for a Mahomedan member, and *vice versa*. I was for years a Vakil of the Nizam's High Court, and had therefore ample opportunities of watching the working of the Western system of representation under Mahomedan auspices. Both Hindu and Mahomedan advocates were elected. Hindus freely gave their vote for Mahomedans, and *vice versa*. Hindu advocates have sat in the Nizam's Legislative Council with a majority of Mahomedan votes, and Hindus, in a majority, often voted for Mahomedan members.

"The political atmosphere of Hyderabad is, however, different from that of British India, but that is due to no fault of the Nizam's Government. While *disarmed* Calcutta and Bombay are notorious for cow-killing riots, Hyderabad, though *armed* to the teeth, knows how to manage without cow-killing riots. It is well known that the Hindus and Mahomedans live more amicably in the Nizam's territories

than they do in British India. The daily Hindustani newspaper published at the Nizam's capital, though under Hindu proprietorship, received for years, until it became self-supporting, a regular monthly subsidy from the Moslem Government of Hyderabad. A Hindu myself, I have had the honour of representing the Moslem Government of Hyderabad in law cases. The secret of the popularity of the Mahomedan Government of Hyderabad, with its non-Mahomedan population, lies in the elasticity of the procedure of the various departments. An instance may here be cited. About twelve years ago the British Indian Factory Bill was placed on the Hyderabad Legislative anvil with a mandate from the British Resident, with a view to secure uniformity of laws throughout India. A Parsee mill director wanted to oppose this Bill on the ground that the mill industry was in its infancy in the Nizam's dominions. As the mill industry was not represented in the local Legislative Council, the Nizam's Government, as a special case, stretched a point, and allowed a Hindu—myself—to argue the case before the Legislative Council, with the result that the Factory Bill was thrown out.

"Instead of discussing hypothetical cases of injustice to Mahomedans under Lord Morley's scheme, would it not be better for the 'All India Moslem League' carefully to study the working of the elective system under a Mahomedan Government with a vast Hindu population? Lord Morley may also be able to quote chapter and verse from the proceedings of the Legislative Council of Hyderabad to show that, after all, the difference between Hindu and Mahomedan interests is not so great, and that a Mahomedan elected by a Hindu majority need not be Hinduized in any way. No complaints have ever been made by Mahomedans against the mode of election in Hyderabad. There is no denying the fact that the composition of Hyderabad is as cosmopolitan in its Mahomedanism as that of the 'All India Moslem League.' From the proud 'Vilayat'

(Central Asian) Mahomedans, with Moghlani governesses to make the children lisp in Persian, to the humble 'Labbay' (Hindu convert) of Madras, who, being ignorant of even Hindustani, has to be taught the doctrines of Islam in his native Tamil, are all to be found in the Nizam's dominions. The working of the elective system in the Legislative Council of the Nizam might, therefore, with advantage be studied by the leaders of the 'All India Moslem League' and others who may have a taste for stern facts in preference to philosophic speculations."

There is no denying the fact that, whenever the door has been widened to admit of a native of India to share in the government of his country, the Hindu has always entered before the Mahomedan. The first native Judge of an Indian High Court was a Hindu. The only natives who have acted as Chief Justices have been Hindus. It is only Hindus who have so far filled the responsible positions of Advocate-General or Standing Council. The same is true in the Executive branch of the Indian Administration. The first native placed in charge of a district was a Hindu. Two Hindus have been Divisional Commissioners, but no Mahomedan has yet reached such a position. The first native to enter the Indian Civil Service was a Hindu ; so was the first native who qualified himself as a barrister. Instances of the Hindu leading the Mahomedan under the British Government in India may easily be multiplied. Though the Hindu has led, the Mahomedan has followed well, and in judicial appointment they have now more than their proportionate share. In the High Courts and Chief Courts in India there are five Hindu Judges and four Mahomedan Judges. The Mahomedan population of India is only 60 millions, against over 200 millions of the Hindu ; the Mahomedan is, therefore, much better represented than the Hindu. It was a most unwise act on the part of the "All India Moslem League" to demand a Mahomedan member in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. It may be hoped that the well-merited rebuke from Lord Morley to the deputation will in

future serve the "All India Moslem League" as an excellent political barometer for its guidance. The leaders of the "All India Moslem League" forgot that, when Colonel Sir Afsar Jang, K.C.I.E., Commander of His Highness the Nizam's army, took part in the China Expedition in 1900, no Hindu demanded that a distinguished Hindu soldier like Major-General Sir Pertab Singh, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., should also be given the signal honour.

The system of election of Mahomedans suggested by the "All India Moslem League" savours of "Divide and rule." Without entering into the ethics of such a time-serving policy every fore-sighted statesman knows that in the long-run such a policy does not pay. It would not be a safe policy for the British to introduce a system which is likely to awaken and accentuate the dormant racial differences. As I pointed out in my article on "Discontent in India" in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1907, England's moral grip upon India has by no means increased since the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Already both the Mahomedan and the Hindu, while showing an instinct of aggregation towards their native rulers, without reference to religion or race, evince a feeling of segregation from their English rulers. If they are led to believe that "Divide and rule" is going to be the British policy in India, they would lose all faith in the Government. Without confidence in the *bona fides* of a Government, no foreign Power can long rule over a population of 300 millions by force alone.

"A writer who builds his arguments upon facts is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions or general reproaches."—JUNIUS.

## INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.\*

By R. F. CHISHOLM, F.R.I.B.A.

THE subject of Mr. Spring's paper, in our April issue (pp. 225-251) is, in my opinion, so all-important to the industrial welfare of India that I will, with your permission, continue the subject. Mr. Spring divides all education into two classes—two-dimensional and three-dimensional, the latter embracing the education of the hand, the ear, and the eye, the first that of the ear and eye only. It seems to me the use of the word "dimension" to express capacity or capability may be misleading, and there is no reason why the phrase "three-dimensional education" should remain the highest power; it might be pushed into fourth-dimensional education, and as the clever author of "Flatland" reduced a three-dimensional world into one of two dimensions, some humorist might be tempted to extend education beyond the square and cube to the fourth, fifth, or any higher power of education. I do not think the inclusion or exclusion of the hand can mark the distinction between mental and manual work, because the training of the eye in the latter is even more important than the training of the hand. We understand as yet so little of what real education consists, so little of the mutual support and overlapping of the senses, that I think for the present it would be better to avoid terms indicating limitations of these same senses.

It seems that India, in common with all civilized countries, is now alive to the fact that there are serious and obscure questions connected with education, which have to be faced and dealt with. Not long ago, in this *Review*, when a native gentleman said something to the effect that mental and moral education should go hand in hand, the applause which greeted the remark proved clearly that thought is awakening to a higher ideal, to a dim perception that the dry bones and fanciful philosophies of the past reach no

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

higher than mere intellectuality, and mere intellectuality, without either patriotism or morality, lead downward, such attainments may tend to make wealthy men better company-promoters, more refined business gamblers, and poor men more expert thieves and more ingenious murderers ; but they can never make better men individually, nor add to a nation's happiness or prosperity collectively. When we lose sight of the highest ideals, and force mere intellectuality by "cram and exam.," we are also unconsciously developing the worst form of slavery the world has yet seen—mental slavery. Before leaving this wider outlook of the subject, which is beyond the scope of this paper, I should like to call the attention of your readers to the excellent work being done by the Moral Instruction League, which aims at teaching morality apart from religious creeds by selecting moral stories indiscriminately from them all. I feel certain that time spent in investigating the methods of these particular teachers will be amply repaid.

Coming to the immediate subject of this paper, Mr. Spring thinks that if India possessed a dozen Institutions like the Madras Civil Engineering College, and about a thousand high-schools equipped so that a boy with industrial instincts should have at least a chance of ascertaining that he has those instincts, India would move forward and take her proper place among the industrial nations of the world. I agree generally with Mr. Spring, but apart from the enormous cost of such a scheme, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain suitable teachers for so large a number of high-schools ; if, on the other hand, we substitute for the high-schools 1,000 schools of industrial art of the kind I am about to describe, the desired result would, I think, be brought about at a comparatively low figure. The scheme I am about to describe is not a theoretical one but a practical one, actually carried out in an institution which I myself worked to the benefit, direct and indirect, of the State, and I take this opportunity of stating emphatically that I myself take no credit for what was done ; I was

simply an instrument in the hands of influential members of the Madras Government. I must express my great gratitude to His Grace the late Duke of Buckingham, to Sir William Robinson, Sir Richard Sankey, Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Robert Ellis, for their general sympathy and trustful co-operation.

It is necessary to explain that as the consulting architect to the Government of Madras I had given much attention to the introduction of sound materials for building purposes, for when I first took up the appointment Madras was a city of plaster shams. All public works had been starved. With the full sanction of the Government of Lord Napier and Ettrick, I had established a brickyard with a good Hoffman's annular kiln, paying the cost of these works out of three or four sanctioned estimates. I had thus ensured a supply of sound bricks and tiles, but I wanted metal-workers, carpenters, blacksmiths, glass-painters, glass-leaders, and decorators of all kinds. I had talked the matter over with His Grace the Governor, a thoroughly practical man of rare ability, and when the post of superintendent of the Madras School of Arts fell vacant, I was placed in charge, on the understanding that I would work the school conjointly with the consulting architect's office. In this way the school became the architect's workshop, and the materials and articles indented for and supplied by the school were paid for out of the sanctioned estimates for public buildings. The school I carried on in much the same way. When I took over the charge it was divided into two sides, the one educational, and the other industrial. On the educational side I introduced a much higher standard of freehand drawing, a standard quite equal to the highest freehand test at South Kensington, discouraging at the same time all higher flights into pictorial art. On the industrial side I retained only such handicrafts as did not compete with work executed outside the establishment. About this time my hands were strengthened by a circular from the Government of India

impressing on all officials the importance of fostering and encouraging local manufactures.

To describe the system in greater detail. All students entering the school were bound to study on both sides—educational and industrial. During the forenoon they learnt freehand, model drawing, and drawing from the round, and during the afternoon they worked after the manner of apprentices at the various handicrafts going forward at the time. The high degree of proficiency the students attained is shown here (pointing to a salver and two vases). The decorative features were executed by youths varying in age from twelve to eighteen. The body of this vase (pointing to it) is made from my own formula, and the form was thrown by a native potter educated in the school.

The first year was one of study ; the second the institution began to pay, while during the third year the profits ran into thousands of rupees.

The way in which I worked both offices—that of consulting architect and that of superintendent School of Arts—invariably showed a profit to the school, as I was careful to see that the items of the estimate were sufficient to execute the work and leave a small profit. To make this clear I will follow an item through the accounts. In a sanctioned estimate there would be say an item of rupees 1,000 for 500 square feet of leaded and painted glass at 2s. per foot. The architect would send the drawings to the school and then arrange for the work to be executed at say Rs. 1<sup>12</sup>0 per foot, leaving 4 annas for contingencies and fixing. The school would probably execute the work for Rs. 1<sup>8</sup>0 per foot and make a profit on the transaction of Rs. 125 00.

During the second year of my tenure of office the Government purchased the property, and with the profits and lapses from grants we were enabled to convert a series of dilapidated sheds into quite a respectable institution. Of course the money so saved represented money which would

have gone into the pockets of sub-contractors, assuming the rates to be the same, consequently I was not popular with this section of the native community, and I was regarded still more unfavourably by a larger section when I vigorously opposed the introduction of the contract system into the public works department, a measure by which, in my opinion, the State lost heavily.

It will be patent to everyone that a scheme such as we introduced demands the most careful working, for it is quite possible that a flourishing Government workshop might cause serious trade depression around it ; but if the welfare of the country at large is steadily kept in view this can hardly occur. The practical outcome of our experiment was acknowledged on all sides to be successful ; not only did we stimulate trade outside and make a handsome profit, but we were able, as I have said, to remodel and rebuild the school buildings. Apart from the excessive cost of establishing properly equipped high schools, Schools of Industrial Arts such as I have described afford the most complete and rapid methods of teaching hand and eye culture. It will be generally conceded, I imagine, that whether a man works with a trowel, chisel, gouge, brush, or graver, he is actually drawing with these tools as much as if he held a pencil in his hand. Is it not far better, then, that he should learn the necessary hand and eye culture by the cheap expenditure of pencil and paper than by the more costly method of learning to draw through the medium of implements which, in unskilled hands, destroy valuable materials ? I hope it will be found out before long that no artisan of any kind should be put to work before he can draw, in the ordinary sense of the word, fairly well, although he should have, at the same time, ample opportunity of both seeing work done and assisting skilled workmen.

I should like to observe in parenthesis that the kind of school I am advocating has no relation whatever to an ordinary industrial school, for I think such schools wrong,

both in principle and practice. The idea of teaching poor little waifs and strays to earn an honest living is so fascinating that many people are led to support these institutions ; but if people generally would pay more liberal prices for the articles they purchase such institutions would be unnecessary. The liberal people who support these institutions merely pay so much to the mean people who buy the articles produced in them because these articles are cheap.

The establishment and equipment of a School of Industrial Arts as compared with the establishment of a high school, with full technical equipment, is easy. Good English teachers of drawing can be obtained by the score, and they can impart their knowledge without linguistic attainments, while it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain a similar number of teachers of technical processes. On the industrial side of the Art School the teachers would be native artisans only. The schools should be located near building centres, in charge of the public-works officer, and used by him as his workshop. Every architect or engineer would always be keen to simplify processes and introduce labour-saving machines.

As nothing would be made for stock, and very few imported materials used, the indirect saving to the State would be enormous. If handicrafts practised in the school should be taken up by outside firms, such handicrafts should be at once dropped ; the school would have so far fulfilled its mission.

It will be understood from what I have said that every public building erected throughout the country would be finished by the teachers and students of the local School of Arts, and when no building operations were going forward in the immediate vicinity, it would always be possible to keep students on the industrial side engaged on useful arts of some kind, and in the case of important buildings a whole school or schools could be transferred to the spot.

It will be generally conceded, I think, that the manipula-

tive skill of the native artisan is second to no people in the world, except, perhaps, the Japanese, and if to this natural ability we engraft a course of hand and eye culture, we will gradually produce perhaps the most efficient artisans the world has yet seen. A class whose peculiar aptitude will eventually solve the question of the conservation of native-Indian art, for the practical way of solving this question is not to continue to make useless curiosities, which no one wants except as curiosities, but to learn to apply those decorative principles to useful articles.

The scheme we carried out in Madras reached its climax of usefulness when the Post and Telegraph Office was completed without outside aid of any kind. With the exception of raw iron and pot-metal glass, all the materials used in the building were obtained locally, and worked up in the local School of Arts, and in order that you may appreciate the great advance made, I will throw on the screen the first building I designed in Madras, built entirely of wood and plaster. (The building was briefly described.) I will now throw on the screen the Post and Telegraph Office. In this building all the natural materials are exposed, and there is no sham of any kind. The style is a west coast phase of native work, which I think the most suitable for the climate. Every feature here seen will be found somewhere on the west coast between Ahmedabad in Guzerat and Trevandrum in Travancore. The roofing-tiles are a modification of the old west coast native tiles. (The manufacture of these tiles was described.) The two stones I made use of were a whitish-grey gneiss from Sholinghur, and a fine dark bluish-grey limestone from Cuddapah. Since I left Madras a fine sandstone has been found, capable of exhibiting the fine Jalee work of Ahmedabad; but as neither of the above-mentioned stones could be so carved, all the Jalee work exhibited was made in stone-ware, glazed and unglazed. The wrought metal-work, carved wood, plaster of Paris models, leaded glass, a good deal of which was enamelled, and all finishing of every

description, was executed at the School of Industrial Arts. It may be urged with reason that it is objectionable for the Government to become manufacturers with the aid of the public purse. I gladly leave this point to politicians, merely remarking that I myself see little difference, so far as monetary considerations go, between an Industrial School of Arts such as I have traced out and establishments like Sèvres and Woolwich.

One word in conclusion. It has been the fashion to decry Schools of Art in India. I do not say they are perfect institutions, but I conscientiously believe that they, and they alone, have kept alive the waning and flickering light of native industrial Art ; that their influence on the whole has been good ; and that much of the fashionable verbosity launched against them seems to me unworthy of the refined intellects which have been so employed.

## INDIAN TOPICS.

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**THE TRUTH ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
ACCORDING TO THE REV. HOWARD CAMPBELL, MISSIONARY  
AND SOCIALIST, AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF LIFE  
AMONG THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.**

CERTAIN critics of the Indian Government are fond of quoting the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, who is, we believe, an American missionary, as an authority on Indian questions. Whatever his qualifications as an observer of India may be, his conclusions do not agree with those of other American missionaries, whose evidence convinced Mr. Roosevelt that English rule was undoubtedly a blessing to India on the whole, and Mr. Sunderland's views may fairly be contrasted with those of Mr. Howard Campbell in Madras. This is Mr. Campbell's account, as given in the *Labour Leader* some years ago:

**IS INDIA MISGOVERNED?**

**SOME INDIAN FACTS FOR BRITISH SOCIALISTS.**

As I have spent rather more than twenty years in India, living in an up-country district, and mixing freely with all classes of people, I should like to say a few words on the methods and results of British rule. I have been amazed to find writers with whom I am otherwise in thorough sympathy denouncing British rule as cruelly oppressive, and declaring that the people of India have been reduced to dire poverty by over-taxation.

I am a Socialist, and have, at the risk of incurring some little odium, done what I could to advocate Socialism in the Press and on the platform in India, while, when on furlough, I have refused to vote for any candidate who would not subscribe to the I.L.P. programme.

I went to India expecting to find a great deal of mis-

government, and most unwilling to admit that any good could result from a bureaucratic system. Experience has forced me to the conclusion that there is *no country in the world better governed than India, none in which the administration does more for the masses of the people.*\* This is strong language, but I am convinced that any Socialist who made himself acquainted with the facts would endorse it, with a fervent wish that things were as well managed in England as in India.

In India, except in Bengal, the land is national property, the cultivators holding directly from the State, and occupying their farms in perpetuity, on payment of a rent of from 6d. to 4s. per acre. There is communal grazing-land attached to each village, and the land on which the village is built is also the property of the people. There are, consequently, no ground rents, and every man, however poor, owns his house. All waste land is in the hands of Government. That which is arable is available for cultivation, and a portion may be taken and occupied by anyone who applies for it, without any charge other than the annual land-tax. Hills and jungle and river tracts are under the control of the Forest Department, and are managed in such a way as to bring in a profit to the nation. Mining royalties go not to a class of greedy landlords, but to the State. The railways, where they are not State-owned, are State-guaranteed and State-controlled. They bring in a yearly revenue of about £9,000,000. Government has, indeed, gone in so largely for productive works of various kinds that it is able to pay the whole of the interest on its borrowed capital from the profits accruing from these.

It is impossible to enumerate all the various schemes that have been carried out by Government for the development of the resources of the country and the improvement of the condition of the people. Most notable among these are the opening-up of the great railway system, and the establishment of vast irrigation works in parts of the

\* The italics are ours.

country which suffered from a precarious rainfall. In North India the Ganges system has placed the greater part of the province beyond the reach of famine ; in South India the Godavari and Kistna Delta Works have transformed the poorest and most miserable into the richest and most prosperous districts in the Madras Presidency. At the present time, as a result of personal inquiries made by Lord Curzon, a huge irrigation scheme is being inaugurated on the borders of the Deccan, which will distribute water over an area as large as Ireland, and thus save some millions of people from the fear of famine.

If our Home Government would only take a leaf out of the book of the Government of India, it would be a great deal better for our unemployed. The Government of India recognizes to the full its obligation to provide work for those who are unable, through any exceptional causes, to earn a livelihood.

India has always been subject to oft-recurring famine, owing to the precarious nature of the rainfall ; but whereas in former times famine was regarded as beyond the control of man, it is now considered a problem to be faced and dealt with by those responsible for the government of the country. In every district in India there is a list of useful works in the Government offices and a supply of tools in the Government stores, and as soon as there are evident signs of distress, relief works are opened, on which all who are able to earn a livelihood can find employment. Every effort is made to prevent the people from feeling that there is any disgrace in resorting to these works. As a result of this policy, the hardship and suffering which arise from famine in the present day are, however great, but slight compared to the terrible calamities resulting from the famines of former times.

No statement could be more inaccurate than that India has been impoverished by British rule. The very reverse is the case. The total disappearance of the shell currency, the increasing demand for the luxuries of life, the yearly

absorption of about 10,000,000 pounds' worth of imported bullion, a great part of which is used for the manufacture of jewellery, proves that the people are really much wealthier than formerly.

The masses are poor, very poor, but their poverty is in no way due to maladministration or misgovernment. Reckless expenditure on marriage festivities and litigation are the chief causes of the indebtedness of the ryots. A man will spend three or four years' income on his son's marriage, borrowing the money without hesitation from a usurer, who charges from 12 to 75 per cent. interest per annum. *No one is crushed by over-taxation.* It is true that the revenue of India is much larger than the revenue of Great Britain in proportion to the wealth of the country, but it is a great mistake to regard the whole revenue of India as a tax upon the people. A large part of it is profit earned by public works, and of the remainder, two-thirds come from the land-tax, which includes rent. Members of the working classes, if they refrain from the use of alcohol and opium and keep out of the law-courts, have nothing to pay in the shape of taxation except some fourpence a head, which the salt monopoly costs them. Those who complain of the land-tax close their eyes to the fact that it is really of the nature of rent paid to the community for the privilege of occupying, to the exclusion of others, what is really the property of the whole nation.

Socialists who look into the controversy on the land system which has taken place between the Government of India on the one hand and some Indian political reformers on the other, will be amazed to find the so-called reformers advocating the landlord system as found in Bengal, while the Government, with Lord Curzon at its head, stands up for national ownership and control. This is a very fair example of the attitude of the Indian political reformers. They look at things from the standpoint of the classes, and leave the interests of the masses of the people almost entirely out of account.

There is a far greater gulf between the classes and the masses in India than in England, for in India the class feeling is immensely intensified by the caste system, which teaches that the members of the different sections of society have no more in common than horses and cattle, or sheep and goats. The mere touch of a low-caste man is supposed to bring pollution. Pariahs, who form the greater part of the proletariat, and number about 4,000,000, are not allowed to live in any respectable street or to draw water out of the village tanks or wells. In some parts of the country they are still denied a free use of the public roads, and until recently they were not allowed to whitewash their houses or to ride on a horse or in a palanquin. In the extreme south of India their women were prevented from wearing any clothing above the waist, and in almost every part of India any attempt on the part of either man or woman to dress more decently is bitterly resented by the high-caste people. The British Government has in the main taken the side of these poor down-trodden people.

Our English officials, standing as they have done entirely apart from the social system of the country, have been able, as they would not have been at home, to look at things from an impartial standpoint, and consequently have done much to remedy the cruel social injustices from which the poor classes suffered. *The great mass of the people far prefer to be under British officials*, and do not hesitate to protest vigorously against any attempt to set them aside in favour of their fellow-countrymen. Even under British rule I have known Indian apothecaries refuse to allow low-caste patients to enter the consulting-room of their dispensary, and Indian magistrates and judges compel low-caste complainants and witnesses to stand outside the walls of their court-houses and shout their evidence as best they can from a distance.

I believe in the extension of self-government in India, but so far as the welfare of the masses of the people is

concerned, the measure of local government which has already been given has been anything but a success. Numberless cases could be given of the way in which local boards neglect and even oppress the lower classes. In one district I have myself seen notices issued by a country board forbidding the use of its public rest-houses to any but high-class Hindus ; in another I have known a lad to be expelled from a public school on the written order of a county board chairman, simply because he was a pariah. In both cases, I am glad to say, the injustice was remedied by the action of the European magistrate in charge of the district.

When the masses of the people are educated up to the point where they shall be conscious of their wrongs and able to insist on their rights, India will be ready for self-government ; but any attempt to force popular government upon the people at present would involve injustice as great as the handing over the people of Ireland to a Parliament composed exclusively of landlords and their friends. If those who are ready to listen to the statements of the political reformers, who for the most part belong to the proudest and most exclusive classes of society, were to study the speeches and writings of some of the social reformers, a little body of brave men who have been excommunicated and persecuted as a reward for their unselfish efforts on behalf of the poor and the weak, they would get a very different idea indeed of the present situation in India.

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Lord Morley, who has brought some time and a highly-trained intellect to bear on the problem of Indian administration, has practically come to the same conclusion as Mr. Howard Campbell. He cannot look forward to the time when a Parliament in India could be started with any prospect of success ; and Sir T. Mahdava Rau, whose experience and ability are almost unrivalled, and who was by no means an ardent admirer of British supremacy, summed

up the question at the end of his career in the following words : "The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more does one feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and therefore avoidable, evils, than the Hindu."

## THE INDIAN COURTS AND THE UNREST.

By B. C. S.

THE present condition of affairs in India gives an opportunity for taking stock of our system of governing that dependency, for noting in what points we have failed in the past, and for taking warning for the future. This is a task which is occupying many minds, and its full consideration would far exceed the limits of a single article. I therefore ask leave to discuss but one point, which, in my opinion, goes to the root of the matter—the present weakness of the Indian Executive.

Let me preface these remarks by stating that, after spending many years and having occupied many official positions in Bengal, I left India before the present disturbances commenced. I do not, therefore, pretend to be personally familiar with the actual state of affairs at the present day. This has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, for those who are situated as I am can look back upon the past directly, and not through the distorting prisms of anger and of apprehension at what has lately occurred.

What we now read in the Calcutta telegrams is what many of us in our time anticipated. This is not said in any "I-told-you-so" spirit, or in a spirit of recrimination. The fact that it was foreseen is only quoted as a reason for pointing out how through many decades the seeds of disaffection were sown, and how their early stages of development were unwittingly fostered by our own actions. It is wise to take warning from the past, and, when mistakes have been made, to admit their existence and to remedy them.

The Bengal with which we Indian civilians were familiar is not the Bengal of the newspapers. Most of us knew little of Calcutta, or of the other great cities which are the

centres of Indian government. We did not look upon the four hundred thousand natives who claimed to be literate in English as constituting Bengal ; perhaps we left them too much out of our calculations. To us Bengal mainly consisted of the fifty odd millions of peasants that knew no English, whose educational horizon was limited by the village school, and who looked to us to protect them from injustice. It was with these that, almost from the day he landed in India, the young civilian was brought into immediate contact. He had served but a few months when he was put in charge of a definite number of these people, for whose welfare he was made responsible ; and as he rose in the service his work was always the same, only ever widening in its scope and in its responsibilities. When at length he became a district officer, he was the nominal ruler of from one to three millions of people, nearly all of whom made their living from the land. If he was worth his salt—and I would fain believe that most of us were worth our salt—he looked upon those amongst whom he lived as his children, and they, quick to recognize a sympathetic spirit, loved him as a father. He and they were agreed as to his two great duties : to keep the Queen's peace and to protect his people, especially the poor, from injury (*injus*) in its widest sense. For this purpose all authority was wisely centered in him. As the representative of the fiscal side of government, he was called the "Collector," and as the representative of the executive side the "Magistrate" of the district.

These peasants were Orientals, and did not think as Englishmen. They had different ideals and different methods of attaining these ideals. Amongst other differences they could not—and, I make bold to say, they cannot—conceive the idea of an executive officer who is successful, and yet not armed with plenary power. They know nothing about theories as to the separation of executive from judicial functions. Being Orientals, they wish to have one man whom they can trust, to whom they

can go for help, and who will give them justice when he has once decided. It was in this last point, the giving of justice, that we often failed. Over and over again have we magistrates talked about this amongst ourselves. More than one has writhed against the bonds by which he was confined, or has even risen in open but unsuccessful rebellion. We knew that we had not the necessary powers to do our duty, and that, at the time, it was hopeless to attempt to gain them. The bond that held us down was, in Bengal, the criminal side of the Calcutta High Court.

Be it observed that by "High Court," I do not mean merely the judges. I include the whole corpus of law which it has created, and the Bar that practises under its authority. Nor do I refer to the High Court of to-day, a body of which I have no practical experience, but to the court as it existed during the concluding decades of the nineteenth century. Above all, I do not deal in personalities. It is not this or that judge, or this or that barrister, who is responsible, but a system inherited from the old Supreme Court, and dating from the time of Warren Hastings. In his days there was an open breach between the judiciary and the executive. Since then, if hidden under more polite verbiage, the opposition has been none the less real and effective.

Of the judges of the court, half (including the Chief Justice) are men trained in England, of the highest legal capacity, soaked in the traditions of English law, and appointed late in life. The Bar also consists of men brought up in an atmosphere of English law. Besides the barristers educated in this country, there are pleaders, mostly natives of India, whose training has been on the same system. With some notable exceptions, the barristers and pleaders of the time to which I allude, whether Englishmen or Indians, knew only Calcutta, and were ignorant of the problems of up-country life. In order to supply this admitted defect, four of the sixteen High Court judges were men selected from the subordinate judges of the Civil

Service ; but, as will be now explained, this was of little service.

Up to the middle of the seventies of the last century, the course of promotion of the judicial members of the Civil Service was as follows. A civilian passed through the ordinary executive grades till he became district officer. After having served for a certain number of years in that capacity, he became either a judge or (on the executive side) a commissioner. From the ranks of these judges the four civilian judges of the High Court were recruited. The result was excellent. The High Court was leavened with men who had had practical experience of executive work, who knew its difficulties, and who sympathized with its two aims of keeping the peace and of doing justice. About the year 1875 (I may be wrong as to a year or two), all this was changed. The High Court complained that civilian judges lacked the necessary legal training, and officers were taken at once in the early years of their service on to the judicial branch. Subject to the direct control and supervision of the High Court from their most impressionable years, and without any practical experience of a district officer's duties, they necessarily tended to become mere replicas of the High Court itself on a smaller scale. More than ever during the last *seculum* of the nineteenth century was the old contrast between law and justice emphasized throughout Bengal. I have heard one of my brother judicial civilians seriously argue that when law and justice came into conflict, it was better for the country as a whole that the letter of the law should prevail. This may be true in a country like England—I offer no opinion on the point—but for such an idea to get abroad among the people of India would have been a serious evil ; and before I left the country it *had* got abroad, and was deeply resented. Let me quote an example. In one of the districts in which I served there was a certain professional thief. He was protected by a rich and influential landholder, who profited by receiving the stolen property. Everyone who knows

India will recognize that it was practically impossible to collect evidence against such a receiver, but the thief was caught more than once, and was convicted more than once, of housebreaking. Each time the landlord's money was able to get him released on appeal, ready for fresh crime. One day the dead body of the thief was found lying outside a village. He had been murdered, but all our efforts failed to trace the criminal. Some years afterwards, when the actual murderers were dead, it turned out that the thief had been caught by the village people in the act of house-breaking. They took counsel together, and decided that it was no use making him over to the police, as he had been let off on appeal each time that he had been convicted; so they agreed to put a final stop to his depredations, and did so. This was not a healthy state of affairs.

This story brings us to the main defect of the Indian criminal system—the endless system of appeals. No decision is final. Even when the law made it final, the Calcutta High Court, in my day, under its powers of revision, could reopen any case, and often did so. A subordinate magistrate punished a man. He could appeal to the district officer, and in nine cases out of ten did so. This decision on appeal was supposed to be final; but, if the criminal had money, he went to the nearest judge, who could hear the whole thing discussed again, and then refer the case to the High Court, who again heard all the arguments, and gave its own decision. Now, the High Court is not like the High Court of Justice in England. In this country a man can get to London from any part of the country in a few hours, and at a small expense. But in Bengal an injured person, generally some poor cultivator, may have to travel on foot some 300 or 400 miles, spend weeks in a strange city amongst people speaking a foreign language, and waste large sums of money in defending a perfectly just decision which the law had specially declared to be final. Such a man, whose whole income may be a few pence a day, has no

means for doing this. The rich offender, on the other hand, pours out money, employs powerful advocates, and wins his case in the enforced absence of the man he has injured. We used to say in our talk amongst ourselves that the Calcutta High Court was an excellent court for the protection of the rich against the poor.

If there is one quality in judicial procedure which, besides justice, is all-important, it is promptness. Nowhere is this more peremptorily necessary than in India. It was the unjust judge who did not avenge the widow "for a little while"; and, as it was in the first century, so the cry in the East in the nineteenth was for speedy justice. A short time ago the *Times* had occasion in a leading article to remark upon the slow progress of the Indian law courts, and in doing so touched upon a vital point. But the delays which the *Times* condemned were not the fault of the magistrate. Enmeshed in an intricate net of rulings and of laws codified by a too compliant Legislative Council at the demand of the higher judiciary, he is helpless. A prolonged and intricate procedure has to be followed, with the knowledge that the slightest carelessness or omission will be a ground of appeal. In order to secure the most perfect legality, the High Court insists on the payment of tithe of mint and anise and cummin, things which the lower orders of the lawyer class have made of more importance than judgment and mercy. In my days no magistrate could feel that in his judicial procedure he was trusted by the appellate courts. Distrust bred distrust, and it often happened that the guiding motive of a decision was not what the magistrate thought was proved, but what he thought the appellate court would say.

At that time the High Court acted on a rule that an accused person need not be tried by a magistrate in whose justice he had no confidence. The theory is excellent if properly applied, but in practice it sometimes came to this, that it gave the accused the choice of the court that was to try him. I do not myself see how any guilty person can

have confidence in a just judge, but let that pass. The High Court even got the Code of Criminal Procedure altered so as to compel every magistrate at once to postpone a case on the mere demand of the accused person, if he wished his case transferred to another court. The postponement was necessarily a long one, for the application for transfer had to be made in Calcutta. Such applications were by no means uncommon. Even when apparently unsuccessful they obtained their real object, which was delay. In the interval witnesses were got at, bribed, or terrorized ; and the case, after the postponement, when it came on for trial, was pretty sure to break down. Here, again, it was the rich man who could afford to apply for the transfer, and again it was the law which protected the rich against the poor. If the application was, as it generally was, successful, then a guilty person was in even a safer position. I remember a case in which the only magistrate in a small station, before issuing formal process, made some inquiries into an alleged piece of oppression by a rich and influential man upon some poor fishermen. When the case came on for trial the accused person made the usual motion for a transfer on the ground that the magistrate, having previously inquired into the case, must necessarily have become prejudiced. On this ground, ably supported by the best legal talent in Calcutta, the High Court ordered a transfer to the nearest court—some thirty miles away, over bad roads. The fishermen could not afford to bring their own lawyers and witnesses this distance, and the accused, who were undoubtedly guilty, got off scot-free. Such charges of prejudice would not be listened to for a moment in this country. It is only in India that, so far as I am aware, such a thing could occur. There are acquitting and convicting judges in England, but I never heard of anyone applying for the transfer of the trial of his case on the ground that the judge before whom he was brought was going to convict him.

The question of delay had been greatly aggravated, in cases affecting the Queen's peace, by an old decision of the

High Court that under no circumstances could the two sides in a rioting case be tried together. Hence for years, and I suppose the same is the case now, every rioting case had to be tried twice over, and every prosecution witness had to be twice examined and twice cross-examined. Besides the gross delay in a class of cases in which speedy justice was all-important, this was sure to result in apparent discrepancies between the two statements of each witness—which were made the most of in the inevitable appeals and (if the parties were wealthy) revisions—and in consequent ultimate failures of justice.

Still more disheartening to the man on the spot was the ignorance in Calcutta of up-country languages and law. We, who had been spending our lives among our children, found our best efforts impeded by want of knowledge in Calcutta of facts that were to us elementary. The greatest lawyer comes to grief when he is not familiar with *mufassil* procedure. I remember one important murder case sent up by the inquiring magistrate for trial before the Calcutta High Court. Before him the witness had made the clearest possible statements incriminating the accused. At Calcutta, no one—not even the official interpreters, much less the jury—could understand their patois; and when at last their evidence was translated, they contradicted all their former statements, and even denied that they had made them. The question then arose as to prosecuting these witnesses for perjury on their contradictory statements. The prosecuting barrister, and the High Court judge who was trying the case, discovered that the committing magistrate had not signed an apparently necessary certificate on each deposition. The prosecution for perjury was accordingly abandoned, and the magistrate was reported to the Government for censure. His reply was complete. No certificate was required. The judge and the barrister had looked up the wrong law. For some time after that it was a common saying in that part of Bengal that Calcutta justice was administered by judges and barristers who did not know the law, aided by juries

who did not understand the witnesses. The gibe was only partly true, but it was not undeserved.

Finally, another great source of weakness in the executive was the extraordinary latitude allowed to the Calcutta Bar in making statements and in presenting affidavits. In this country it is said that when one has no case it is best to abuse the plaintiff's attorney. In Calcutta in those days it was thought safe to abuse the trying magistrate, and even to charge him with offences which, if proved, would have rendered him incapable of ever trying a case again, and also liable to long terms of imprisonment. I have known of cases in which affidavits embodying the most insulting accusations, for which not one tittle of proof was offered, were not only received by the High Court, but even passed on to the magistrate for explanation, as if they were ordinary legal arguments to be accepted or refuted. Abuse of a superior is a favourite weapon of a low-caste native when he knows that he can do so safely, but it was a new thing to find such abuse deliberately uttered in the highest courts of justice, without an attempt at making good the assertions, and with the knowledge that it was impossible to do so—this, too, by barristers who were English gentlemen.

It will be asked, Why did not the executive officers remonstrate against the continual encroachments on their authority? They did remonstrate; but not till it was too late. The evil had been growing gradually for a century, and when its full proportions were reached it would have needed a revolution to put a stop to it. Government in India does not proceed by revolution, but by following the line of least resistance. Influenced by representations from the High Court, the Indian Legislative Department, whose head, a distinguished English lawyer, had no experience of the real India outside the Presidency towns, at each revision of the Code of Criminal Procedure and of the Evidence Act, brought them more and more into accordance with English law, even adopting, in the law of evidence, English rules that had been deliberately abandoned as unsuited to

India by its original codifier, Sir James Stephen. The Government of India itself was chary of raising criticism either from the High Court or from well-meaning doctrinaires of the English Parliament. Let me illustrate the attitude they felt compelled to take. In this country professional criminals, after release from prison, can be placed under police supervision. Some such regulation is necessary everywhere, and was in my time common in Bengal. But there the practice had no legal sanction. We were compelled to carry out an illegal, but necessary, invasion of personal rights. When one of the Criminal Codes was under revision, it was proposed to legalize this practice. I myself had a conversation with the then Legal Member of Council on the subject. His decision was against the innovation. "The practice must be maintained," he admitted, "but we think it better that district officers should do it at their own risk." We were accustomed to take risks when our responsibilities demanded them, and there were possibly high reasons of State for the decision, but it was not calculated to strengthen the position of the Government's executive officers.

The result of all this was that in those days we district officers felt that we were losing our hold over the people. As I have already said, we foresaw what was coming, and the expected has come. With the noblest intentions, the High Court has unwittingly substituted a reign of law—"the *rāj* of the *wakīl*"—for the reign of justice : rough, it is true, and often, perhaps, imperfect, but still prompt, which it has ever been the object of the executive officers to maintain. It was the fault of a system. A court, of which half the members came from England with no practical acquaintance with Oriental law and ideals, and too mature in life to change their own conceptions, had for more than a century been trying to sew English patches upon Indian garments. Its well-intentioned efforts had for a quarter of a century been rendered doubly disastrous by an unfortunate division of the Civil Service into two branches, each with

ideas of duty that conflicted with those of the other. Strive as we of the executive might, our struggles were bound to be ineffectual. In Europe jealousy of encroachments on the part of the executive is possibly well founded, and hence the English Parliament has been on the side of the judiciary in India. That in India the executive has to be restrained no one is more conscious than I am, but it should be ridden on the snaffle, not on the curb. It should not be made to feel that there is a perpetual conflict between law and justice.

I frankly admit that there are two sides to this question, and that advocates of the present judicial system in India will have much to say in criticism of my remarks. I have tried to put forward to the best of my ability one side, about which the average Englishman can know but little; and if a discussion is evoked which will lead to a happier condition of the country which was my home for more than a quarter of a century, I shall be the first to welcome it.

It will be observed that, for reasons already given, I have carefully refrained from mentioning present conditions. My object has been to put on record the state of affairs that existed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. If they still continue, so much the worse for India; but that has nothing to do with what I have been discussing. It was then, and not now, that the district officer began to lose his influence, and that the mass of the Indian population began to discover that there was a power greater than the *mābāp*, "the father and the mother," to whom they had hitherto been accustomed to look for justice. It was then that the seeds were sown whose harvest has been the hideous crop of treason and assassination that we are reaping now amongst those whom we ourselves have educated, and whose Oriental natures we have vainly endeavoured to accommodate to English habits of thought. Nor have I had persons in my mind. If I had, I could have mentioned judges and barristers, endowed with sympathy as well as with learning, who struggled against the dead weight of old tradition with temporary success.

The High Court has numbered great lawyers, both amongst its judges and amongst its Bar, who have left behind them monuments of legal erudition. In the decision of civil suits between the rich it has supplied a body of illuminating precedents. Where its system breaks down is in the hearing of criminal cases, in which the millions of the poor are mainly interested.

What is the remedy? It is easy to say that we cannot retrace our steps, but is not that a confession of moral weakness? The disloyal *literati* of Calcutta will, no doubt, make themselves heard, and their friends in Parliament will cry out against any strengthening of the hands of the Indian executive, but these two classes do not possess a monopoly of the courage or of the common sense of the realm. The 250,000,000 of Indian peasants will rejoice to find that they can again look to their district officer for speedy justice. I would suggest, first of all, that we should revert to the old conditions under which no Bengal civilian could become a judge until he had acquired full experience of the work of a district officer. This may make him a worse lawyer, but, although he may not please the Calcutta legalists, he will do better justice, and will better understand the efforts which his brother district officers make for the good of their people. Secondly, I would greatly limit the present profligate right of appeal and of application for revision, which, in my days, left no poor man safe from the tyranny of the rich. Thirdly, I would trust the district officer as a magistrate. On the revenue side, the Government trusts him fully. Why should not the High Court do the same? Such men are not boys. They have spent at least twelve or fifteen years in constant intercourse with people finally committed to their charge. They are familiar with their customs and languages, and know, from cover to cover, the particular laws which they have to administer.

The present High Court dates from the year 1861. Before that the Court of Ultimate Appeal in criminal cases

had no other work to do. The *Sadr Nizāmat Adālat*, as it was called, was composed of men who knew the country and the people, and who were required to decide their appeals in accordance with equity, justice, and a good conscience. I fear it would be impossible nowadays to return to such a patriarchal system; but if some such court, distinct from the High Court, could be established in Bengal, the gain to India would be immense. The High Court could still continue as the head of the civil courts, a department of jurisprudence in which it has been eminently successful.

Lastly, I would entreat the Government of India to pause in the experiment that it has commenced of separating the magisterial from the executive functions of government. I doubt if any single Englishman who really knows the real India has ever said a word in favour of such a proposal. It has been pressed by Calcutta lawyers and officials imported from England, at the bidding of a class, many members of which are of doubtful loyalty. No more effective method of spreading disaffection through the country districts could be calculated. The head of the district—the representative of Government—must be able, not only to diagnose injustice, but to punish it; and if the peasantry find that he cannot do this, their allegiance will be thrown to the wind, and for content will be substituted a general and active disloyalty.

## THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.\*

By SIR ROBERT FULTON, LL.D.

I FEAR the subject of my paper—the Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service—is neither a popular nor an attractive one. It may at first sight appear to have only a limited interest, and to concern merely the members of the Indian Civil Service who have elected to serve in the judicial branch. I have the advantage, however, of travelling over hitherto untrodden ground, for I believe I am the first to present to the English reader the subject of one of the most important, though perhaps the least appreciated, of the branches of Indian administration. And the subject is one that should be of general interest, for it deals with the section of the service entrusted with the dispensing of civil and criminal justice. India is doubtless held by the sword, but not by the sword alone. The foundations of our empire in India rest on the principle of justice, and England retains its supremacy in India mainly by justice—not merely the justice of our Courts, but by the desire to do justice between race and race and man and man that is felt by all public servants in India, and which actuates our statesmen at the head of the Government and the most insignificant of subordinate local officials alike. Without that justice we could not hold India for a moment, for it is that which inspires the peoples of India with a feeling of confidence in us, and with a belief that in all our dealings with them we will never act otherwise than fairly and justly, and which renders them, on the whole, satisfied and contented with our rule. An Indian orator at one of the seditious meetings of last year showed his audience a bottle of black beans with a few white beans on the top of the black. He shook the bottle, and then significantly pointed

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

out that the white beans had disappeared from view. The anarchists in Bengal are now trying to stir up the peoples of India to revolt, and drive the English from the country ; but the masses remain quiescent and unmoved by the efforts of the revolutionaries, rather, I think, because they believe in and are satisfied with our justice than because they fear our army. Now, the administration of civil and criminal justice, with which the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service is concerned, is, I venture to say, no unimportant factor in the maintenance of the *Pax Britannica* in our Indian Empire, and therefore it merits, I submit, at least a half hour's consideration.

To many of our readers it may be a surprise to learn that there is a judicial branch of the Civil Service of India. The popular idea of the Indian Civil Service is that it is a service of administrators, in which men at an early age become the rulers of large tracts of country, where they administer criminal justice, maintain order and collect revenue, and which they govern with the assistance of many Indian assistants, but of only one or two Europeans —a task which in England would require a staff ten times larger, and many boards and corporate bodies ; that in the fulness of time these administrators become Governors of provinces, and finally retire full of age and honours to fill posts of emolument at the India Office, or to become members of the Council of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. The greater part of the English public are probably unaware that there is another but less favoured branch of the Civil Service—the judicial, which forms a separate department, the members of which fill the posts of District and Sessions Judges in the interior of India, where they administer both civil and criminal justice, and who, after a long novitiate, become eligible for seats on the bench of the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Allahabad, and of the Chief Courts of Lahore and Rangoon. In the old days the Civil Service was not divided as it is at present. Junior civilians became district officers, and district officers became District

Judges, who, after exercising judicial functions for some years, were promoted either to be the executive heads of a group of districts—*i.e.* to Commissionerships—or to the High Court Bench. But early in the seventies of last century the late Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with the view to specialising the duties of the judicial branch and of so raising the standard of its efficiency, directed that the junior civilians of Bengal should, on the conclusion of the twelfth year of their service, elect whether they would serve for the remainder of their careers as judicial or as executive officers. He drew a hard-and-fast line between the two departments, and laid down that a civilian, having once made his choice, should not be permitted to alter his decision, but should complete his service in the particular branch he had selected. Other provinces followed Sir Richard Temple's initiative, and the Civil Service in all the administrations of India, except Burmah, is now divided as above described; and though Sir Charles Elliott at one time obtained the sanction of the Imperial Government to the postponement by junior civilians of their choice of the branch they would serve in till after the twelfth year, and to their appointment for short periods to both branches alternatively, it is now almost everywhere the practice for civilians to choose not later than in their twelfth year the branch of the Service they will belong to.

This system is attended with certain disadvantages. It has put an end to the Civil Service as a homogeneous body, and this has had the effect of diminishing the *esprit de corps* and *camaraderie* that formerly existed between its members. It has caused a certain amount of friction, not to say jealousy, between the two branches. But the advantages of the new system are much greater than its disadvantages. The members of the judicial branch have now ample leisure and opportunity for becoming conversant with the details of the law. Even if they do not study the law closely, they cannot fail to become by practice and

experience proficient in its administration. But most of them do devote themselves to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of it. Some of them even during their periods of furlough study English law, and are called to the English Bar; so that when they are elevated to a seat on the High Court Bench, they are in this respect on an equality with their brethren, a third of whom must according to law be recruited from the ranks of the English and Indian Bars.

But, unfortunately, the judicial branch of the Civil Service, thus formed, is unpopular both with the service and the public. It is unpopular with the service, because the life of a Judge is dull, monotonous, and laborious. A Judge has every day to perform the same or similar duties; there is no variety in his labours. To make himself thoroughly efficient, he has to study and become conversant with many systems and branches of law, Hindu and Mohammedan law, rent, revenue, and statute law, mortgages, contracts, and the nebulous doctrines of equity. The criminal codes are the easiest subjects he has to deal with. No English Judge has to administer so many legal systems so much at variance with each other. An Indian Judge can never, like his English brethren, specialise, and become a perfect master of any particular branch. Then, an Indian judge, unless he makes small jokes or great mistakes, is seldom, like his executive brethren, much in the eye of the public. He plods on from day to day, and rarely commands any public attention. Again, the judicial branch does not enjoy much reputation for ability or efficiency. While in this country the flower of the youth of England flock to the Bar, where they can rise to almost any position of responsibility, dignity, and emolument, it is different in India, where the executive branch of the Service attracts the ambitious and the most able of the young men. The great rewards of the Service are entirely for the members of the executive, and it is sometimes now regarded almost a reproach to a civilian to be attached

to the judicial branch, a sentiment which is fostered by the practice, followed by all local governments, of relegating to the judicial all failures in the executive branch. I remember a Secretary to the Bengal Government, Mr. H. L. Dampier, when examined as a witness by the Finance Commission, being asked what was done with an officer who failed to discharge his executive duties with efficiency. Mr. Dampier smiled, and replied that out of respect to Mr. Justice Cunningham, who was a member of the Commission, he would rather not answer that question. On being pressed to do so, he said: "We make him a Judge." This practice still continues, but I am glad to say that during the time I held charge of the English department of the Calcutta High Court, I on several occasions objected with success to the judicial branch of the Civil Service of Bengal being treated as a refuge for the slack and the incompetent; and even retaliated by returning to executive duties several Judges who had failed to give the Court satisfaction in the discharge of their judicial functions.

Though the judicial is certainly the less showy and attractive branch, and may not be sought after by the rising juniors of the Service, it is not to be supposed that it has not its advantages, and does not attract some men of ability. Some prefer the greater independence and peace of a judicial career, and are satisfied with the dignified position of a High Court Judge, and the higher pension to be obtained by eleven and a half years' service in it. Their long experience of provincial life, the knowledge they thus attain of the habits and customs and ways of thinking of the people, and their acquaintance with the Indian vernaculars, render Indian judicial officers most excellent, and even sometimes unerring, judges of facts, and enables them to disentangle with facility the most skilfully woven webs of partly truth and partly falsehood, which astute and unscrupulous suitors delight in spreading before the Courts. There is an old story, which

may be told again once more, that the late Sir Ashley Eden, when examined before one of those Commissions which are constantly being appointed to advise on the better government of India, but of whose labours little practical result ever appears, was asked whether he would prefer to be tried by a barrister or a civilian Judge; he replied that would depend on whether he was innocent or guilty of the charge brought against him. If guilty, he would prefer to be tried by a barrister Judge fresh from England; but if innocent, he would choose as the arbiter of his fate a civilian with long experience of the country, and accustomed to weighing the testimony of native witnesses. If one scrutinizes the cases decided in the Calcutta High Court during the last twenty years, which have formed the subject of public criticism, it will be found that none of the members of the benches that decided these cases were civilian Judges. If anyone wishes to discover a judicial scandal in which a civilian Judge was concerned, he will have to go back more than twenty years, to the case in which Mr. Justice Romesh Chander Mitter and Mr. Justice Grant convicted of forgery a tea-planter, who afterwards received a free pardon from the Supreme Government, and no civilian Judge, I venture to say, could or would ever have observed, when the decision of a case turned on the interpretation of a simple vernacular expression in every-day use, "In this matter I am in the hands of my learned (Indian) colleague." As a rule, however, the commercial public of Calcutta, of whom alone I can speak, do not approve of civilian Judges. They believe them to be subservient to Government, which, as far as my experience goes, they are not, though they are not prejudiced against it. On the other hand, any Judge who makes in public what appears to be an attack on Government, or speaks of the High Court "being sometimes the only protection the public have against a powerful executive," is extolled as a Daniel come to judgment, or is cheered till the echoes resound in the hall.

Another argument often urged against the civilian Judge is that none but practising barristers are fitted for seats on the Bench. But such a view does not prevail in other countries—as, for example, France, where the Judges are members of a service, and may rise to high judicial office without ever having pleaded a cause. Nor does there seem, on general principles, to be any reason why a man who has received a good legal education and successfully passed the usual legal examinations, and who has spent the greater part of his lifetime in weighing evidence and deciding cases which involves the consideration of the two sides of each cause, should not be as well qualified to discharge the functions of a Judge as a man whose occupation has been that of a partisan, and whose duty, as such, has been to look at only one side of the case, and to make the best of it, irrespective of its merits. Some commercial men are less antipathetic to civilian Judges than the generality, and admit that they are proficient in the codes and in rent and revenue law, but say that they are wanting in experience of commercial causes, and that they do not want them to decide such cases. Civilian Judges who have learnt their work in the interior of the country have certainly less experience of commercial cases and questions of contract than lawyers who have been in good practice in a Presidency town; but it is quite a mistake to assume, as commercial men sometimes seem to do, that a briefless and unsuccessful barrister is necessarily better qualified to decide such suits than a successful member of the Civil Service of some standing. The possession of a good general education, which is all that success at the competitive examination for the Civil Service of India insures, does not disqualify a man from being a good commercial lawyer, when he has had some experience of such cases. Everything must have a beginning. Every one called to the Bar is not born a lawyer, and only sometimes becomes one. And I can point to Mr. Justice W. Macpherson (now Sir William Macpherson) as a most sound commercial Judge,

who sat with great success on the Original side of the Calcutta High Court. I was once in the private chamber of Chief Justice Petheram, when Mr. Justice Macpherson came in. After he had transacted his business and retired, Sir Comer Petheram turned to me and said : "There goes a man who would have made his fortune as a commercial lawyer in England."

So much for the present. Now for the future. What is to be the future of the judicial branch of the Civil Service? It cannot remain in its present anomalous position, disowned as it is both by the executive and by the legal profession. Either it must be abolished or it must be improved, and its members placed on an equality with barrister Judges both in India and England. Many advocate its abolition, and contend that with so many Indians on the Bench and with so many professional Indian practitioners, civilians are no longer required either for District or High Court Judgeships. It would be a perfectly logical proceeding to abolish the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service. There is a statutory difficulty, for at present one-third of the High Court Bench must be members of the Civil Service, but that could be overcome. But would this be a wise step to take, or is this a measure that could be adopted without grave political danger? It is notorious that many of the junior Indian Bar and of the provincial pleaders have the greatest sympathy with the revolutionaries, and with the native journalists, who flood the country with disloyal and inflammatory articles. I once asked a leading Calcutta merchant what he would do if no more civilian Judges were appointed to the Calcutta High Court. He replied : "I would close my firm, and withdraw my capital from India." If, on the other hand, the judicial branch of the Civil Service is to be retained, then two steps must be taken. In the first place, a better system of training the junior members of the Service who select this branch should be adopted, so that from the very first they may be qualified to dis-

charge the responsible functions entrusted to them. At present there may be said to be no regular system for training them, or for insuring that they have an adequate knowledge of civil law before being called on to administer it. Selected candidates are no doubt required during their period of probation in England to study criminal law, and junior civilians have to pass two departmental examinations in criminal and revenue law in India before they are empowered to exercise the full powers of a magistrate and Deputy Collector. But nowhere in India, except perhaps in the Punjab, are junior civilians who elect to serve in the judicial line obliged to pass any examination in civil law, and they are appointed to officiate as District and Sessions Judges, and to exercise both original and appellate powers in cases involving abstruse questions of Hindu and Mahomedan and statute law, mortgages and equity, without their being called on to give the slightest evidence of their possession of even the most elementary knowledge of these branches of legal lore. The results are often deplorable. The newly-appointed District Judges cannot fail to be at first far less competent than the native judiciary whose work they have to supervise, and whose decisions are appealable to them. They necessarily commit blunders, and though these may be corrected in second appeal or in revision, the present system involves a waste of time and power, not to mention the unnecessary expense in which it involves litigants. As an instance of what happens as things are now managed, it may be mentioned that when it became necessary recently to remove a junior civilian from the judicial branch in which he had been tried and found wanting, he complained that it was hard to take away from him his appointment as Judge "just as he was beginning to learn the rudiments of law."

The defects and dangers of the present system, or rather absence of system, were pointed out in the Imperial Council in 1903; and though promises were then made that steps would be taken to improve it, and correspondence with

local governments ensued, still, after the lapse of more than five years, no practical measures have been adopted for the removal and correction of its evils. Local governments continue to act as if junior civilians can be endowed with the highly technical knowledge required for the proper discharge of their duties as civil courts by the simple process of gazetting them to be District Judges, in a manner somewhat similar to that in which bishops are consecrated and endowed with the capacity to discharge their episcopal functions—viz., by Divine unction and the laying-on of hands.

But much more remains to be done to bring the judicial branch of the Civil Service to a high state of efficiency, and to induce the promising juniors of the service to enter it.

As I have already said, the ambitious will not choose it, and prefer the executive branch. The reason is not far to seek. The doors of high preferment are closed to the judicial civilian. The top of his tree is a seat on the High Court Bench, with the chance of a plain knighthood given only on retirement, and after long years of drudgery in the debilitating climate of the plains. The executive civilian's lot is a much happier one. If he has any talent, he at an early stage of his career joins the local secretariat, and passes only the winter in the plains. In the hot weather he goes with his Government to the hills. When he rises still higher he obtains an appointment at Simla, and later on he becomes the Governor of a province, and has bestowed on him the insignia and dignity of an Indian knighthood. On his retirement he often obtains a seat on the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The judicial civilian, except in Burmah and the Panjab, is debarred from participation in all these sweets of office. He is a Judge, and must not hope for them. In Burmah, however, one Chief Judge has been promoted to be a member of the Viceregal Executive Council, and his successor now fills the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province. But in other provinces the judicial civilian

meets with no such good fortune. On the other hand, he is held ineligible for all legal preferment on the ground that he is a civilian and not a lawyer. All high legal appointments in India, such as Chief Justiceships and the legal membership of Council, are reserved for barristers. A civilian may be a Chief Judge of the Chief Courts of Burmah and the Panjab, and he may act as Chief Justice of a High Court, but he is never appointed substantively as such, even though he may have been called to the Bar, and so is technically, as well as may be actually, qualified for the post. The legislative department of the government of India is officered largely by judicial civilians. The Secretary is at present a barrister, but the Deputy and Under-Secretaries are civilians, and when the Secretary has gone on leave, his place has often been filled by a civilian. But a civilian is never appointed to be legal member of Council. There have been and still are several members of the Civil Service well qualified for this post. The name of the late Mr. R. Greeven may be mentioned as one of these. But doubtless in future the legal membership of Council will, for political reasons, be reserved for an Indian barrister. Then, the legal appointments at the India Office and the legal membership of the Secretary of State for India's Council are always bestowed on barrister Judges, and the retired civilian Judge has to spend his days in idleness, while he sees his *quondam* barrister colleagues, as well as some of his executive brethren, filling Government posts of usefulness and profit. Again, a civilian Judge, however great his attainments, seems never to be appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It would seem most desirable that a Judge conversant with the Indian languages and character, and with a long and intimate experience of the people, acquired during many years' residence in the provinces of India, and therefore well able to form a just opinion on the facts of the cases appealed from India, should be appointed a member of this tribunal; but this is never done. It is

certainly not surprising that in these circumstances the judicial branch of the Civil Service does not attract the most promising of the juniors, and that they should be averse to embracing a career in which they must always occupy a position of inferiority to their barrister colleagues. The present system of inviting junior members of the Service to qualify themselves for and to join the judicial branch, and then to regard them as disqualified for the highest legal offices on the ground of their being civilians, is neither logical nor just.

Another inequality between a civilian High Court Judge and his barrister and Indian colleagues, though it may be no more than a pin-prick, is that he does not receive the same pay as they do, for even when he has earned his civilian pension, before he is appointed to the High Court, he is compelled to continue his subscriptions to it during the whole period of his service in the High Court. But barrister and Indian Judges get their pensions without any deduction being made from their salary on this account. Then, at the end of his service in the High Court, when a civilian Judge retires after having earned and being apparently entitled to both pensions, by the irony of fate (or rather by the rules of the Financial Department of the Government of India), he is obliged to give up his civilian pension for which he has subscribed during the whole of his service. On the other hand, civilian members of the Viceregal Executive Council, on being appointed to that body, are exempted from subscribing for their pensions on the ground that they must be put on an equality with their non-civilian colleagues. The law favours equality, but apparently not in the case of civilian and non-civilian Judges.

Serious changes must then, I submit, be made in the constitution of the judicial branch of the Civil Service before it can afford an adequate career for talented juniors of the service, or its members can be said to be fairly treated. If this be not done it had far better be abolished,

and legal appointments in India be reserved exclusively for Indian barristers and pleaders, though I doubt if Government will dare to take this step for many years to come.

I would add but one word more. In making these remarks I have no personal interest to serve. I have ended my official career, and all I can hope for from this expression of my opinion—though probably I hope in vain—is that it may perhaps lead to justice being done in the future to a branch of the service of which I have been long a member, and from which my severance is so recent that I can scarcely realize that I have ceased to belong to it.

## INDIAN ADMINISTRATION AS IT STRIKES A DISTINGUISHED FRENCH STUDENT.

BY JOSEPH CHAILLEY.

If we may borrow from *India*, "it is never labour lost to the student of the Indian problem to gather the views of intelligent and well-informed foreign observers," and therefore we make no apology for publishing the following translation of an article which appeared in *L'Opinion* on June 13, 1908, written by Monsieur Chailley, a clever exponent of the science of Colonial administration. It does not, of course, in some particulars represent views to which this Association can commit itself, but it is so interesting and so generally appreciative of British work in India that the Council have decided to publish it *in extenso* without comment or explanation.

INDIA is disturbed and agitated. On the North-West Frontier, along the spurs of the Himalayas as far as the Afghan plateau, one or other of the tribes more or less dependent on England has taken up arms. They are not, as it might seem, excited to rebellion by the Amir, but they are aided and abetted by some of their brothers in the Afghan dominion. In the interior of India, in more than one part, at one time in the Punjab, and now more especially in the two Bengals, some agitators have tried, and are still trying to appeal both to the interests and the passions of the people, in order to try and stir up not only Hindoos but Mussulmans against the English rule. Between these two there is no connection. The tribes of the North-West are warlike robbers, who fight for pleasure or for spoil. The agitators are discontented people, who are ambitious and who clamour for reforms. With what are they discontented? What do they want, and what are their ambitions? It is a long story. India, which is as

large as Europe from Moscow to Gibraltar, numbers 300,000,000 inhabitants ; 60,000,000 are under the rule of native Princes, and 240,000,000 are under English rule. England has taken the whole of a century to conquer her, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. It has been a work done by patience and opportunity rather than by mere force. There was not, and there never has been, an Indian nation. If there is one some day, it will be the English who have created it in all its particulars. The conquered were a hundred different peoples, different in race, religion, history, and language ; people with white skin and people with black ; Hindoos, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Animists ; men of the plough and men of the sword ; priests, warriors, etc. England has subdued them, ruling them at first from afar and afterwards ruling them on the spot, with a watchful sagacity, and with, at the very least, a desire to do justice. She has imposed peace, insured the security of person and property, and has taught industry, expecting economic results. It has been an enormous task, which she has done alone and done well, without native councillors, if not without native assistance. She has been able to admit a great number into the execution of this task, and has reserved the conception and direction of it to herself—a form of government which Macaulay has styled “an enlightened, benevolent despotism.”

The Indian malcontents will only admit the word “despotism” in this formula.

In order to pass judgment on their criticisms, it is necessary to know how the administration of India is organized. The English will tell us that they govern with 1,000 officials ; but they have in view only the Civil Service, which is entrusted with the general administration, with the land revenue, with the courts of justice, and which is recruited by competitive examination and invested with great prestige. One ought to add to this 13,000 or 14,000 other Englishmen who make up the technical services.

a total of 15,000. These 15,000 Englishmen have under their control many millions of natives. About 100 are high officials (Judges of the High Court, Directors of Accounts, District Judges, and Collectors); these earn from 800 to 3,000 per annum. The rest are secondary magistrates; engineers; men in the police, Postal and Telegraph Departments; in the railways; in the Irrigation Department, etc. (these earn from 10 to 1,000 rupees per month); subordinates of every rank, of every quality, who share the innumerable and inferior appointments which the English are not allowed to take for more than one reason. It is in order to recruit this formidable army of subordinates that they have created the universities and schools of India, and have organized a system of education following a plan for which Macaulay, who was at that time a member of the Government of India, is responsible.

The Charter of 1833 had just made the promise, which was confirmed later by the Proclamation of 1858, that no subject of the Queen would be excluded by reason of race, colour, or religion, from any public appointment. As they wished to make natives into officials, it was necessary to educate them. They deliberately and exclusively pointed out Western ideas of learning to them. Macaulay doubtless believed, (they all believed it in those days), that education in itself was sufficient to effect a rapid change in the mental outlook of a people.

It changed very little, but it altered considerably the respective social influences, if not the actual value of the different classes of the population. It prepared the future of a new class, one with which the Anglo-Indian Government would more than once have to reckon. Let us call it by a term, not too inaccurate, "the lettered class." It would take too long to describe the programme and methods of education, its examinations, etc. Let us content ourselves by saying that it was the upper castes, not the Princes, but chiefly the Brahmins, who filled the schools

and the colleges. They were glad to procure for themselves, (thanks to their prodigious memories,) a means of livelihood, eager to raise their social status. They took diplomas and passed the examinations which qualified them for the public service. They even had a try for the Civil Service in the competitive examinations, and every year there have been some successful candidates of their class among the English. At this moment, strong in the promises of 1833 and 1858, and strong in their success in the Universities and in the examinations, they believed they had reached the object of their ambition—namely, higher appointments with the powers that appertain thereto. But it was not to be, and they found themselves soon taken down a peg or two. This was a cruel disappointment, out of which has come much irritation and distrust

The English have been doubly imprudent. At first they promised much in terms vague and unexplained. They had promised, but with mental reservations which for a long time had been kept secret. Afterwards, having created schools for the purpose of training officials, they appointed masters who were at first chiefly Europeans, but afterwards natives, not of a very high order. Their Universities became examining bodies without possessing any serious influence over the minds and characters of the students. The products of these affiliated colleges were mediocre ; memory was developed more than the intelligence ; the learning was more superficial than profound ; the docility of the students was more marked than their originality—everything, in fact, which would qualify them for posts of a subordinate rank. But they found themselves far from the fulfilment of their highest hopes.

For a long time the English and the natives alike have refused to acknowledge this failure of their hopes. The natives continued to learn and to gain diplomas ; they went on asking for and obtaining these secondary places. At length a chosen few despised these same consolations and turned their attention to politics. Some formed on the

spot the National Indian Congress—that organ which shows forth the claims of the natives ; whilst others went to England, there to look for and to find encouragement and help. Some men of considerable importance—Bradlaugh, for example—made themselves the allies and champions of their cause ; whilst in India some natives of considerable talent have made themselves the determined advocates of the ambitions of their class. Among these are Mr. Romesh Dutt, at one time a Commissioner in the Civil Service, who has helped on the cause by his books, scientific in appearance ; also Mr. Gokhalé, with his sustained and fiery eloquence, the power of which even the Viceroy had to own.

All that existed without actual result until the day of the Russo - Japanese war. The victories of Japan excited enthusiasm in Asia. China, Indo-China, Persia, and, above all, India, believed that the European Powers would be shaken from this time. The élite, who were less credulous, hoped for much in the way of reforms and liberties from a man like Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India. Two groups were formed, one already in existence, called the legal agitation party, the other composed of those who desired a propaganda of their cause by deeds, by boycotting English goods, and by the use of bombs—*i.e.*, the party of violence. An occasion arose which furnished a pretext—the division of the immense province of Bengal (80 millions) into two new provinces. A false interpretation was made of this measure, and the movement passed from words into deeds. The local government was stupefied and England was disturbed, but did not wish to return violence for violence. Inquiries were started. An Under-Secretary of State came to India in order to study and prepare measures for decentralization. In the interval, the old heads of the legal agitation party made some ground. The powers that be consented to listen to them, and these are some of their complaints at the present time : England rules rigorously, and appropriates some of the sums which she levies on the Indian people for the benefit

of British policy. This is why the taxation is too heavy, and why, in a country relatively fertile, famine rages. The people of certain districts are too poor, in consequence of the taxes, to buy grain. England ignores the people that she has to govern. She holds herself aloof and considers them beneath her ; she gives them no proof of being able either to understand them or to sympathize with them. That is why she passes so many measures which are contrary to her own interests and contrary to the sentiments of her subjects.

"This state of things will continue as long as she refuses the co-operation of the natives. She has trained, both in the schools of India and in the Universities of England, a select number—men of action; whose co-operation should be precious to her if she would only cease to repulse them, if she would only admit them into her Councils. Let her make room for some Indians in the Viceroy's Council, in the India Council (in London), in the Executive Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay ; let her make room for some Indians in the different Legislative Councils; not only for a few individuals chosen, as they are at present, by the Executive, but let there be room made for many more representatives chosen by the people.

"Such, in broad lines, is the programme of the claims of the legal agitation party.

"In the meantime the violent party has not entirely given up its methods, and bombs from time to time accentuate and support the arguments of their more pacific allies.

"The English have much to say in answer to the arguments of their adversaries.

"Firstly this : that it is a mistake to suppose that these accusations are accurate. The lettered classes—products of the Universities—do not represent either the sentiments or the interests of the masses. They would be repudiated by the aristocracy and by the masses of the people who live by their own labour, and who have probably more confidence in the talents, and more faith in the justice of the European as an administrator than they would ever have in the native."

Then, again, that these lettered classes are neither so well instructed nor so able as they imagine themselves to be, and their administrative and political abilities are probably far below their intellectual abilities. Therefore it would be too great a risk to hand over to them the duties of presiding over the destinies of their people.

And, finally, that the gifts of mere scholarship and of being able to pass examinations with success are not sufficient in themselves to qualify a man to govern. Character and dignity must be acquired. Consequently, the English aver that if the day ever arrives when the right of governing is handed over to the lettered classes, to those who are "clever on paper"—to an immense Hindoo majority, in fact—then a large part of India would rise up with one accord and protest. In fact, all the Mohammedans have a very different conception of those qualities which enable a man to command and to direct, and they would implore the English not to abandon them.

And all this can be supported by facts. But the English for the last half-century have indeed committed an irreparable mistake. They have disdained, for reasons of policy, to listen to the complaints of the people in those matters in which they have a legitimate grievance; they have made solemn promises and then have skilfully evaded their promises. Now, to-day, these stratagems (hardly disguised) weigh on their consciences, and they find themselves constrained, by reason of the threatened storm, to concede to these claims, when they might have gained by yielding to them at the opportune moment during quieter days.

Let us count on them still to know how to grant some concessions and how to put off others. But the era of determined resistance is over.

India is about to enter into a new period—one of co-operation between master and subject. Let us hope, for everyone's sake, that she will continue to advance for a long time to come under the direction of the English.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES IN INDIA.

By GERALD RITCHIE.

IT must be admitted that the weight of opinion of the many eminent Anglo-Indians who have spoken or written on what are popularly known as Lord Morley's Reforms is not very favourable, and, in respect of the admission of Indians to the Executive Councils, is condemnatory. Speaking with all the diffidence proper to one whose administrative experience was confined to a single province, Bengal, and who never advanced beyond the rank of a Divisional Commissioner, the present writer welcomes the hospitality of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* to discuss briefly—from the point of view of one of the official rank and file, and specially from the point of view of Bengal—the momentous changes which have recently received royal assent.

The debates in both Houses have been interesting, but have presented the defect that must always attend Indian debates in England—that is, the speeches were often characterized by the air of unreality that attaches to assertions of the most contradictory sort which cannot possibly be tested or appraised by the audience to whom they are addressed. It is probably for the first time since the administration of India passed from the Company to the Crown that the leaders of both English political parties joined in a debate on the internal affairs of India. The *Times* has rendered valuable service by its numerous and well-informed articles and through its correspondence columns in interesting public opinion and in focussing the views of Anglo-Indians. India has this time no reason to complain of the neglect of its affairs by the English public.

Opinion has been strongly divided on the importance to be attached to the "intellectuals" of India, the educated

class who have absorbed Western ideas and cherish Western ideals of government. Without going over the well-worn ground as to whom they represent and what title they have to be considered, I would say at the outset that it seems to me altogether unsafe and unstatesmanlike to undervalue their influence. While they include many of a shallow and foolish type, it is impossible for any thinking man who has been in contact with the best class among them to deny them a perfectly genuine patriotism, honourable and legitimate in every sense, or to refuse to recognize them as a force to be reckoned with.

The upshot of the constitutional changes now determined is, in the first place, that the Legislative Councils are to be enlarged; there is to be an extension of the suffrage for the purpose of electing members, with provisions for the adequate representation of Mahomedans; there is to be no longer an official majority in these chambers, and the non-officials are to have the power of initiating legislation (the results always subject to veto), of passing abstract resolutions, of voting on the Provincial Budget, and of asking supplementary questions.

On the whole, I think all this will provide a useful safety-valve for the political enthusiasm of the "intellectuals," and that while undoubtedly it will involve a good deal of friction, it is better to have the necessary divergences of views between East and West thrashed out in a regular way than to have perpetual one-sided resolutions passed at congresses and public meetings. I do not think it is too much to expect that a sense of responsibility will tend to curb extravagances on the part of the Indian leaders, and that a few quite genuine grievances will be brought forward, ventilated, and remedied. Should the enlarged Bengal Legislative Council press by unanimous non-official majorities for the reconsideration of the Partition, I cannot see with what logic or show of justice such a demand could be disregarded. The legislative work which comes within the purview of a Provincial Legislative Council is

nowadays of small importance. The great land questions have been settled in the present generation, the substantive law of the land on all matters of criminal and civil law is embodied in well-known codes, and the Local Governments are not likely to meet with inconvenience in failing to carry such Bills as will probably be brought forward for some time to come. In the matter of the Budget, too, the basis of taxation is fixed, and will certainly not be extended by the Indian members. Their past history shows that in matters of this sort they will be absolutely unprogressive, and their one cry will be to cut down expenditure of every sort. But the conditions of the supply services are fixed, and cannot be changed. It will be difficult to deny the demands for the Public Works Budget, the Irrigation or Railway Departments. The limitation of public revenues will choke off the airy suggestions now made for universal education and distributing large grants for district works, and so forth.

But resolutions will no doubt be passed for repealing the Arms Act, for rendering Indians eligible as volunteers, for examinations for the Civil Service to be held in India, and similar stock congress proposals which cannot be given effect to. And undoubtedly persistent indifference of Government to such reiterated demands will be bad for political peace. But in this respect I do not apprehend that the situation will be changed for the worse from what it is at present, or, in fact, be otherwise than unavoidable.

Nor do I think that any harm will result from increased power of interpellation. When the right was first admitted some fifteen years ago, there was considerable apprehension of its abuse, which experience has falsified.

The demand for separate Mahomedan representation seems to me, going upon purely Bengal experience, rather an artificial and manufactured article, though the justice of it may be plausibly argued on academical grounds. In point of fact, in Bengal at all events, the interests of the two creeds are practically the same. The only way that

the Mussulmans could gain would be by having special creed legislation, which is, of course, at variance with the whole British system and unpermissible.

So much for the Provincial Legislative Councils. The same considerations apply to the Imperial Legislative Council, but in a lesser degree, as the official members will be in a majority, and impracticable extremists are less likely to obtain seats.

My belief, then, is that the extension of the powers of the Councils is a safe measure, and that the risk of dangerous obstruction is practically nil. This is not saying much, and the question will naturally be asked whether advantages are to be anticipated for the country in the shape of less bureaucratic and more popular administration and greater economy, and whether the extended powers will serve as an instrument of political education.

I fear that to this query only a very guarded answer can be given. In any European State the opportunity for salutary control and supplying driving power to the official machine would be taken advantage of under the new system. The Sydney Hollands would interest themselves in hospital administration; the Sydney Webbs and Lyulph Stanleys would look after education. Judging from the Bengal standpoint, the possible number of councillors likely to put a practical shoulder to the wheel is extraordinarily small. There will be any amount of fluent destructive criticism, but hardly any of the helpful sort. Would that it were otherwise; but one cannot be blind to the facts. I always remember the Calcutta Joint Stock Company that was started some years ago with a great flourish of trumpets and speeches from optimistic orators to undertake the indigenous manufacture of matches. Bengal was to show that it was abreast of the times, that it could supply its own wants, and manufacture matches without European control. But the managers of the undertaking in a very few years lost sight of these admirable patriotic principles, and found that it saved trouble all round to cease man-

factoring matches themselves, and to content themselves with putting labels on matchboxes of European manufacture, stating that they were purely of Indian origin. The project whose inception had been marked by such eloquent speeches and flag-waving fizzled out in an ignominious police-court case.

The experience of the Calcutta Municipality shows also what little ground there is for high-soaring anticipation. Thirty years ago the citizens of Calcutta were given practically complete powers of self-government on the model of a modern English borough, the chief distinction being that an official chairman was nominated and appointed by Government. There is a consensus of well-informed opinion that the powers given were misused, and that the government of the city fell below the standard of any decently governed European town. The system was an improvement on what went before, and under it a few hard-working and really valuable Municipal Councillors were developed. But these were not able to control the capriciousness and instability of the main body of the Council, with the result that the Calcutta Town Councillors were constantly at variance with their executive officers; they formed no ideals of what was wanted; they covered themselves with ridicule by impracticable proposals, and instead of affording driving power, acted simply as a brake, and limited themselves to supplying the very minimum of the measures required by European public opinion for the metropolis of India. Things came to such a pass that some ten years ago their powers had to be very materially curtailed in the interests of sanitation and decent civic existence.

To myself personally, who had filled the office of Municipal Chairman for three years, and had the strongest sympathy with the principle of self-government, this result was a great disappointment. But I feel bound to say, with considerable subsequent experience of the working of similar bodies in England, that I have no doubt that the drastic step taken was fully justified.

The same defects are bound to show themselves in the sphere of provincial legislation. Nor is the reason far to seek. The idea of going into harness and training himself for the successful conduct of local affairs, as our public men do at home, is altogether alien to the average educated Indian. He talks politics without realizing that if he aspires to drive the machine he must have some notion of how to do it. For my part, it seems to me that the British Government is simply hungering to find men of character and capacity to promote and honour, and that, as far as the opportunities now to hand go, there is no reason whatever why Indians should not attain the ideal of colonial self-government to which they aspire. The only hindrance is that at present the leaders show no ability towards framing a constructive policy that shall be independent of the English for its success.

Of far greater practical importance is the other branch of Lord Morley's scheme to which I turn, the appointment of Indians to the highest executive posts—namely, membership of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, and of the new Executive Council which it is proposed to create immediately in Bengal.

Now there is a whole world of difference between the position of an Indian on a Legislative and on an Executive Council. In the latter case he will be working with and be powerfully influenced by British colleagues, and will constantly be under a sense of great responsibility to the authority that has appointed him. Every administrator is aware of the admirable work that has been done by Indians working under analogous conditions in every department of the State, and I think it would be difficult to cite instances where under these conditions disloyalty has been shown.

Lord Morley has lost no time in giving an earnest of his new policy by appointing Mr. Sinha, Advocate-General of Bengal, to the legal membership of the Council of India, a post held in the past by a Fitzjames Stephen and a Henry

Maine. Mr. Sinha's career illustrates what I have said about our offering a *carrière ouverte aux talents*. Born in a backward district, educated in the district school, with no advantages of birth or fortune, he distinguished himself at Lincoln's Inn, and has rapidly risen by sheer ability to the top of his profession.

To the appointment of Indians to these highest posts, ex-Governors such as Lord Lansdowne and Lord MacDonnell, and also Mr. Balfour, have taken the strongest possible exception. I confess that the arguments which they use do not appeal to me. I think it was Lord Lytton —whom nobody will accuse of being too pro-Indian—who burst out in a private letter, published in his Life, against the vicious circle of Anglo-Indian reasoning that Indians could not possibly be appointed to the highest posts because they had not acquired the necessary experience, while the opportunity of acquiring it was denied to them when proposed. It may be that the Mahomedans will be jealous of a Hindoo getting a high post, or *vice versa*, but that certainly seems a poor reason for confining the dignity to Englishmen. It is suggested that the rulers of Native States will dislike the thought that a parvenu fellow-countryman (as he may be in their eyes) forms part of the Executive Government which partly controls their affairs. The argument seems to me far-fetched, and insomuch as there is anything in it, I should say *tant pis pour eux*. We are surely strong enough not to be deflected from pursuing the policy that seems to us right in a matter of this sort by the idea that it will not be acceptable to the rulers of Native States. Against all such objections it seems to me that there is an enormous preponderating advantage in having the advice of an Indian—even an anglicized Indian—who, I will maintain, knows his fellow-countrymen in a way that none of his English colleagues *can* know them, and in giving the most practical proof possible that we mean to act up to the spirit of the Queen's proclamation. I predict that in a few years' time as little difficulty will be felt in accepting such appoint-

ments as there now is among the British public in associating a John Burns with perfect fitness for a Cabinet appointment, horrified as our Whig forebears would have been at the idea. After all, no Government of any civilized country has ever yet been seen in which foreigners were alone eligible for the highest posts.

Far the most important recommendation of the Decentralization Commission is the one to abolish gradually the system of single Lieutenant-Governors in the two Bengals, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burmah, and the Central Provinces, and to assimilate the government of these provinces to that of Bombay and Madras—namely, to administration by a Governor aided by an Executive Council, consisting of four members instead of two members, as at present. It was not recommended that the change should be made at once in all the provinces, but it has now been decided that Bengal only is ripe for it.

In Bengal the office of Lieutenant-Governor has been held by a succession of civilians who have formed a school of Indian statesmanship. John Peter Grant, George Campbell, Ashley Eden, Steuart Bayley among others, inspired confidence in the populations under them, both among the "intellectuals" and the masses, in a very special degree, and I cannot believe that in provinces other than Madras and Bombay the civilian succession will be interrupted and replaced by men from home who have everything to learn on arrival. Nor does this seem to be contemplated except on rare occasions.

On the question whether a Council Government is on the whole an improvement on the present system opinion is much divided, and it is noticeable that everyone inclines to the system of which he has had experience. The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Norman Baker, has declared himself strongly in favour of a Council. I myself think that the day is passed when, in a province like Bengal, a nominal one-man rule is necessary. I say nominal because I cannot imagine the rule ceasing to be

a one-man rule, even though the one man has to work through a Council. It has always seemed to me that to a chairman who knows his business the existence of a small committee is a source of strength rather than otherwise. Both individuals and the public accept decisions on vexed questions much more readily when the personality of the ruler is kept in the background. And I cannot help recalling a considerable number of vagaries on the part of past Lieutenant-Governors which a Council would have kept in check. The question was considered in 1867, and though Lord Lawrence himself was against the change, the majority of his Council were for it. The Decentralization Commission say perfectly justly, "However good a thing it is to have the personal activity and responsibility proper to individual action, you are at the same time liable to personal idiosyncrasies, to an over-zeal or activity in some particular direction, and sometimes also to the prevalence of a crotchet, or (but this rarely) to remissness or unwillingness to grapple with some special question, or perhaps to neglect altogether of some special department." The Indian politicians hold to the change particularly strongly. Here again I think that the association of one or two selected Indians working in concert with European confrères would very considerably strengthen the authority of the Provincial Government, and is a proper way of meeting honourable and legitimate Indian aspirations.

I therefore welcome the proposed reforms in this direction. There are some others proposed by the Decentralization Commission which I hope will be adopted, and regarding the salutariness of which there can be no two opinions. It is universally recognized that the constant transfer of officers is literally a canker in the administration, which saps its robustness and impairs its usefulness. It is rare to find an officer who has been so long as three years in charge of a district. To tell the truth, the ill-effects of the constant changes have gone so far that the thing is a perfect scandal. One can read this between the lines

in the Commission's Report, which has let down the Civil Service gently enough. Not the least disquieting portion of it is the disclosure of the falling off of acquaintance with the vernaculars among present-day civil servants.

The causes are pretty obvious. Firstly comes the very great difference between the *agreements* of districts in different parts of the province. On the one hand are the pleasant dry districts of Behar and the Chotanagpur uplands, where riding and camping are good, the residences are pleasant, the work not excessive. In contrast are the malarious, swampy districts, where the population is excessively litigious and troublesome, and the social amenities small. When posted to one of these penal settlements, a man uses every device to escape from it : he takes leave, he falls ill, or his wife comes to death's door. Secondly, the climate does undeniably lead to men having to take leave frequently for reasons of health, and changes are necessitated all round in consequence. The South African member of the Commission, Mr. Hichens, goes so far as to think that when an officer attains the full rank of Collector, and is placed in charge of a district, he should remain there, subject to leave requirements, for the rest of his service, or until he is promoted. The administration of a particular district should be regarded as his work in life. This seems to me perfectly right, but it is a counsel of perfection. Still, the Provincial Governments should try to act upon it. Extra pay should be added to ordinary salaries for service in the bad districts ; Government money should be spent in improving the house accommodation, and the roads and sanitation and medical facilities in the locality.

It is to be hoped that Parliament, the Secretary of State, and Governor-General will tolerate no excuse for failing to give effect to the Commission's most important recommendation that a District Officer should be kept for three years at least in the same district.

I am a little surprised that the Commission has not recommended an alteration in the leave rules. These were

framed on the liberal scale suitable to the days of the Cape passage, of an India without hill-stations or railways, and are nowadays used to militate against continuous tenure of districts. Further, the minimum service for a civilian to earn a pension (twenty-one years' residence), fixed under the conditions just noted, is too short nowadays, and there is no reason why it should not be assimilated to the period of thirty years fixed for other services recruited in England.

I do not believe for a moment that the best Civil Service candidates would be deterred from choosing an Indian career if the conditions of their service resembled those of the other European services in India. The option of retiring and settling at home at the possible age of forty-five is by no means an unmixed boon, as many have found who have been wretched, after such early retirement, for want of occupation, and would give much to have the chance of returning to harness.

We want such men as Sir Richmond Shakespear (to take an instance of a great soldier-civilian), who served Government for thirty-two years, and during that period but once visited England for a few months, and then on public duty. The type of man who was willing to do this has largely disappeared, to the great detriment of our influence and prestige. However perfect our administration may be on paper, it is on the personal relations of individuals with Indians that our strength in India entirely depends.

The Commission has made other good recommendations—namely, for strengthening the position of a Commissioner of Division, for promoting conferences among Commissioners and among District Officers (an institution that has been worked excellently by Sir Andrew Fraser in Bengal), and for the compulsory retirement of the unfit.

But they have woefully gone astray in their vague and unsatisfactory proposals for giving powers to village committees, or punchayets, and strengthening the position of local boards.

The idea of handing over the responsibility for deciding

petty civil and criminal disputes to such committees is a taking one, no doubt. They are obviously in theory the right people to decide them, and, as a matter of fact, are the only people qualified to untangle the ravelled skeins of village quarrels and misunderstandings. There is a great deal to be said for delegating civil and criminal powers in petty matters to the leading villagers, but on one condition only—that no attempt is made to supervise their proceedings or to admit appeals against them; because with supervision and appeals it follows that they must keep records and comply with rules, and it is absolutely impossible to expect this from them. On the other hand, such a change would open up the road to abuses, and may be disposed of by saying that it would be a leap in the dark contrary to the spirit of our administration.

For the rest, ever since Lord Ripon's measures in 1884, the subject of local self-government has been thrashed out *ad nauseam*. The municipalities, the district and local boards then constituted, have had every opportunity of developing, untrammelled by official interference. But they have proved to be exotic plants, with little root of their own, and have exhibited anything rather than robust or hardy growth. They are alive, however, and the tinkering with these bodies now proposed will have no effect. The Commission would have been well advised to recognize that they were not qualified by their rapid observations to make recommendations of any value. The present suggestions certainly seem to me to have nothing novel in them.

If the Decentralization Report puts forward few changes, it is remarkable that it does not discuss even the possibility of replacing the Civil Service as constituted at present by any other agency. Assuredly with such an advanced congressman as Romesh Chunder Dutt—an old civilian—among their members, the topic must at least have been mooted. That no hint or suspicion of change on this all-important subject is breathed seems to show that the present

bureaucratic system is indispensable for the country and suits the prevailing conditions.

So far, then, as political aspirations can be satisfied, I think that Lord Morley has gone to the farthest limits of concession, and that no further agitation will be justified for a long time. Agitation will, however, no doubt continue. I recently came across a passage in Aylmer Maude's Life of Tolstoy which closely applies to India: "The detachment from the real business of life in which young Russians grew up, and the comparative isolation in which they lived on their country estates, explain the extremely radical conclusions often arrived at by those of them who wished to make the world better. Chain a man to the heavily-laden car of social progress, and he can only advance very slowly, though any advance he does accomplish represents much effort and is of practical importance. Detach him from that car, and he may easily and pleasantly fly away on the winds of speculation to the uttermost realm of the highest heaven, without its producing any immediately perceptible result on the lives of his fellow-men. What I mean is, that the less a man is involved in practical work, the easier and pleasanter it is for him to take up extreme positions." Verily practical work is at a discount among would-be Indian reformers, though not for want of opportunity, and the consequence in India is the same as in Russia.

The extremists who loathe the British because they are foreigners, and give vent to the passionate feelings of malice, hatred, and revenge which the Southern nature is prone to harbour, to its own detriment (as the whole dismal course of Indian history shows), will remain unaffected by the reforms. For security against them and their machinations we must rely on strong heads of police and a strong magistracy. By strong, I mean fearless, level-headed men who can be trusted not to confuse political agitation with sedition, and who have the knowledge of men and the brains to distinguish between political or

social agitators and criminal conspirators. In this respect I feel bound to note that there is good ground for thinking that of late there has been much disastrous blundering. To take one instance, English journalists and Members of Parliament have been shadowed by the police when travelling in India. This odious and stupid practice of superfluous espionage was brought to notice by Mr. Wilson, M.P., when, as a member of the Opium Commission, he made personal inquiries which it was believed might be inconvenient to Government. It has been well and temperately exposed by Mr. H. W. Nevinson in "The New Spirit in India." When such a line is adopted towards Englishmen, it may be imagined what indignities have been placed on Indian politicians—men, for instance, like Surendra Natu Banerjee, a conspicuous and honoured member of the Press Conference and ex-member of the Bengal Legislature. It intimately concerns the credit of the Indian Government, whether in Whitehall, Simla or Calcutta, to repress sternly the Dogberries and Vergeses, who, while unable to get any clue to the frequent bomb outrages on a twelve miles length of the Eastern Bengal Railway, have been inflicting pin-pricks on Indian gentlemen of high reputation.

So much for politics. But the real condition for successful relations with our great dependency is that the lamp of enthusiasm for India should be kept brightly burning, and the supply should not fail of Englishmen and Englishwomen able to divest themselves of all prejudice against brown skins, and qualified to give the Indians an idea of what is meant by the best Western energy, culture, and modes of thought. Compared with these, political rearrangements are of minor account.

## BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

A REPLY TO A RECENT AMERICAN MANIFESTO ON THE SUBJECT.

By SYDNEY BROOKS.

The following very striking reply of Mr. Brooks (a gentleman with prolonged experience of America) to a recent American manifesto attacking the Indian Government seems deserving of careful consideration, and forms an appropriate appendix to our second leaflet, "The Truth about the Government of India according to Mr. Howard Campbell," and is extracted from the *Springfield Sunday Republican* of April 4, 1909 :

SEVERAL American papers recently published, in the form of an open letter to Mr. Roosevelt, a manifesto signed by seventeen American gentlemen, denouncing, castigating, and, as I shall quickly and convincingly show, libelling British rule in India. Most of these gentlemen are clergymen, and it would be interesting to inquire how many of them have visited India, or have made any particular study of its problems, or are qualified to pass judgment upon the stupendous and intricate questions of economics, statesmanship and social and financial policy presented by the government of the peninsula. Of those who are not ministers of the Gospel, some are known to me by name as vehement anti-imperialists who are just as much opposed to American rule in the Philippines as to British rule in India, and who seem to regard all government of Oriental people by the white races as an abomination. Anybody familiar with the methods of political controversy would expect a pamphlet issued under such auspices to display more indignation than accuracy, more violence than love of truth, and more heat and imagination than knowledge. But the unrestrained bias which these writers display in

their strictures upon British rule in India, their recklessness of misstatement, their ignorance of some facts and their distortion of others, have, I confess, surprised me.

1. "The people of India have no voice whatever in the management of their own affairs." The brief but sufficient answer to this is that over 60,000,000 Indians are governed by native rulers under what is in many cases merely a modicum of British supervision ; that the armed forces of the Crown in India are two-thirds native and one-third British ; that nearly 1,400,000 Indians are engaged in the service of the State ; that natives dispose of the greater part of the magisterial work, sit on the bench in each of the High Courts and exercise jurisdiction, in all classes of civil cases, over Indians and Europeans alike ; that natives greatly outnumber the British in the 750 municipalities and the 1,000 rural boards ; that Indians sit on all the legislative councils, and are consulted as a matter of course by Government before any measure is even drafted.

2. "Not a tax can be changed, not a rupee of the people's own money appropriated for any purpose, however urgent, without the consent of British officials. Even the new 'reforms' proposed by Lord Morley will effect no essential change." The first statement is substantially, though not absolutely, correct ; the second is wholly false. The natives of India have for many years past been trusted by their British rulers with the bulk of the administrative work of the country. From now onward they are to be allowed an effective, an all but decisive and controlling voice in the spheres of policy and legislation. To say that this involves "no essential change" is simply nonsense.

3. "To-day fully 100 editors are serving terms of from three to ten years in prison, many of them without trial, without having had opportunity to defend themselves, in not a few cases without even being informed of the nature of their offence." Every one of these statements is a separate falsehood. I think about seventy-two editors have been

imprisoned for incitement to rebellion and anarchism. In each case they have been tried, they have had every opportunity of defending themselves; they have been fully informed of the nature of their offences. The writers of the manifesto have fallen into the egregious error of confusing imprisonment with deportation. Nobody is imprisoned in India without a fairer trial than he would receive in a good many countries with which I am acquainted; and as for deportation, only eleven agitators have undergone this form of punishment in the last two years—a form of punishment, let me add, constantly resorted to in the native states.

4. "In India the mere discussion of reforms is punished by open or secret imprisonment." No more ridiculous statement was ever penned. There are some 8,000 native journals, every one of which is devoted to the "discussion of reforms." The National Congress has done nothing but "discuss reforms" all the years of its existence, and the Government has just issued two enormous Blue books, filled with the "discussion of reforms" by native gentlemen of all classes and creeds, from every point of view, Hindu and Mohammedan, land-owning and professional, pro-British and anti-British.

5. "There is no Indian home that is not liable at any hour of the day or night to be forcibly entered and searched at the instigation of spying police. There is no Indian gentleman, however high his standing or unimpeachable his character, who may not at any moment be arrested and hurried away to an unknown prison." If this is really so—and I believe it is—it merely shows that conditions in India are in this respect precisely the same as conditions in France.

6. "All telegraphic and other news from India is closely censored in the English interest." There is not a word of truth in this. No censorship over the telegraphic or other news from India exists in any shape or form whatsoever, and it has often, I believe, been a source of official com-

plaint that the Government should have no power in checking the stream of sensational and provocative misinformation that flows from newspaper correspondents in India, and that leads opinion in England into thinking the situation in the dependency worse than it really is.

7. "India governed herself for thousands of years." Such a statement concisely inverts all that is known of Indian history. India has never governed herself. She has been invaded time and again; her peoples have been massacred by tens of thousands; kingdoms and empires have been carved out of her, have flourished, and have passed away in violence and disorder; all her rulers have been conquerors, as alien to their subjects as the British themselves, and holding their sovereignty by no older or better title.

8. "There is no record of Indian wars so bad as the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and none that compare at all in loss of life with the wars of Napoleon; neither does Indian history show anything that in anarchy and violence equals the reign of terror in France." Well, the Thirty Years' War thrust Germany back 150 years in the scale of civilization, and was perhaps the most terrible calamity that ever fell upon a nation. Tamerlane, however, put 100,000 Hindus to the sword, and the Emperor Jahangir, in the palmy days of the Mogul Empire, lamented in his memoirs that although he and his father had massacred "5,000 or 6,000 human beings," Hindustan was still "turbulent and disaffected," and I doubt whether any of Napoleon's achievements were quite on that scale. As for the reign of terror in France, it is well known that it never raised the French death-rate by the fraction of a point; and it is equally well known that the population of India, under the atrocities and invasions and disorders of what is euphemistically called "native rule" remained almost stationary, and only entered on its course of prodigious expansion when the British brought peace and security.

9. "There has at no time been greater hostility between

Hindus and Mohammedans than between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Europe." That is simply equivalent to saying that Hindus and Mohammedans have done nothing worse than burn one another at the stake, duplicate the appalling wars of religion that have devastated Europe and adopt the methods and practices of the Bartholomew massacre and the Spanish Inquisition. I think that is probably true, and I would only add that if the British left India to-morrow, within three months the old animosities would be again in full swing.

10. "According to her ability to pay, India is taxed by her foreign rulers more than twice as heavily as England, and more heavily than any country in the world." I do not suppose for one moment that the authors of this assertion have entered into the laborious calculations hinted at by that judicious saving clause, "according to her ability to pay." I will therefore merely point out that the sum derived from every kind of taxation in 1906-07 amounted to less than \$1 per head, and that nearly half of this was the proceeds of the land revenue. The land revenue in India is the precise equivalent of rent in other countries, the cultivator paying to the State what in Europe and America he pays to the landlord; and unless rent is to be regarded as taxation when the State receives it, and merely as rent when a private individual receives it, the sum paid in taxes by the inhabitants of British India is rather less than 50 cents a head a year.

11. "The tax on salt alone has reached 2,000 per cent. of its cost price." The cost of production at the largest sources of supply—the salt lakes of Rajputana—is 4d. per 82 pounds. Therefore the duty is 400, and not 2,000, per cent. of the cost price. Even this seems large. But so carefully have the costs of production, transportation, and distribution been kept down that the price of salt to the Indian consumer is not materially higher than in England, and is substantially lower than in France, or Italy, or the United States, being on an average less than 1 cent per

pound. Under native rule, owing to bad communications and transport, crude methods of manufacture and a perfect network of inland Customs and transit duties, salt was very much more costly, and was often, indeed, not procurable. While I am on this branch of the subject I will add that the Indian peasant, who forms from two-thirds to three-fourths of the population, pays no tobacco tax, no tea or coffee tax, and only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Customs duty on his cotton garments. No peasantry in the world is so lightly taxed.

12. "England is burdening a starving people with the payment of wars carried on outside of India." England is now doing nothing of the sort. She used to throw a part of the expense of employing Indian troops outside of India upon the Indian exchequer, but this practice was very properly abandoned several years ago, and will never be revived.

13. "The terrible famines in India are not caused by any lack of food, but by an abject poverty brought about by British rule." Famines in India are primarily caused by the failures of the monsoons. When the rains are regular and abundant, agriculture is possible; when the rains are irregular or insufficient, the main industry of the country comes to a standstill, and the Government is confronted with the problem of the unemployed on a scale beyond any Western experience. The poverty of India is, it is true, abject and pitiable enough, but to charge it to British rule is grotesque. The social habits of the people, their improvidence, their reckless expenditures on dowries and wedding festivities, have infinitely more to do with it than any external agency has or can have. You might remit the whole of the land revenue, and abolish the salt tax and the Customs duties, and India would still be abjectly poor, and famines would still occur. As a matter of fact, every test by which one can gauge the well-being of nations—the increase of revenue in spite of a decrease of taxation, the imports and exports, the industrial and savings banks' deposits, the railroads' returns, the amount of coin

and paper in circulation, the figures for investments and so on—all point to a slowly rising standard of comfort in India under British rule.

14. "The annual tribute paid by India to England is rated at from \$125,000,000 to \$150,000,000." In the ordinary and recognized sense of the word, no tribute whatever is paid by India to England. The British connection imposes upon India the annual payment of certain sums. These sums, which amount to less than \$100,000,000 a year, are in payment partly of military and railway stores and materials, partly of administrative expenses, and partly of interest on debt and upon capital invested in productive industries in India. In other words, for every rupee remitted, India has received a full and fair equivalent in goods, services, or capital, and Mr. Roosevelt was thus absolutely and literally right in asserting that all the moneys raised from India are spent in India. The sums due from India in this way are actually paid for by the excess of exports over imports, and the authors of the amazing manifesto I am criticizing appear to regard the surplus of exports over imports as a "tribute" to England. But the United States shows annually a huge surplus of exports over imports in her dealings with Great Britain. So also do Australia and the Argentine Republic. Are these countries also paying "tribute" to England? or are the authors of the manifesto talking nonsense?

13. "The railroad policy of India is controlled wholly by the prospect of strategic value and financial return to England. It is England primarily that profits by these roads; they are in the hands of Englishmen, and the revenues derived from them go into the pockets of Englishmen; they are built where they will be of most advantage to the English, not where they will most benefit the people of India." A mere glance at the map, showing the railroads that link up all the great centres of population, is enough to dispose of the fatuous allegation that lines have been built for the advantage of a few thousand Englishmen, or could pos-

sibly be made to pay if they did not minister to the needs of India. As for the equally preposterous charge that the revenues derived from them go into the pockets of Englishmen, it is enough to say that of the 30,000 miles of railroad in existence the State owns over 22,000, realizes a profit of some \$12,500,000 on their working, and in one way or another devotes the whole of this profit to the relief of taxation.

There are one or two other statements in the manifesto that I might challenge with equal success, but I have, I think, written enough to expose it in its true character as a masterpiece of mendacity or ignorance.

## “THE SILVER LINING” AND “INDIA’S CLOUD.”

IN the December number of the *Socialist Review* there is an article entitled, “The Silver Lining to India’s Cloud,” by Dr. Rutherford, M.P. The cloud is the maladministration which has, in the opinion of that gentleman, run riot for years. Further, “*the promises and pledges of Queen Victoria made fifty years ago remain unfulfilled*”; “*every elementary right of the Indian people to a voice in the government of their own country has been denied*”; “*plague, famine, and poverty have desolated the land, and, in spite of all, the cloud has remained passive save for occasional perturbations in the shape of riots, and a strong streak or two of bomb lightning.*”

The prominent note in criticisms of our Indian administration is incapacity to appreciate the most elementary facts concerning our great dependency. If Dr. Rutherford had the knowledge which is surely an indispensable preliminary to wholesale condemnation, it is difficult to believe that he could have intended to attach literal accuracy to language pitched in such a high key ; the tune may have been set for those who unfortunately take an extraordinarily perverted view of things in the East, and prefer to have their literary food served up hot and highly seasoned. It would be easy to prove by argument, founded upon reliable data, that Dr. Rutherford’s accusations are so remote from the reality as to be absolutely grotesque, and even ludicrous ; but a reply to charges so wholesale and reckless, which, without particularizing, cover practically the whole field of our operations in India, obviously could not be compressed within reasonable limits. All that can be attempted is to advise those who are interested in these great questions to ascertain the facts for themselves, and then to form their own conclusions. Eastern problems are undeniably difficult, but the details are not so elusive as to be beyond anyone of ordinary

intelligence, and can easily be mastered by a visit to the India Office Library. Those who have neither the time nor the inclination to conduct researches of this sort may at least be expected to weigh the utterances and consider dispassionately the proceedings of those who have borne, or are bearing, the burden and heat of the day in India, who must of necessity have a considerable knowledge of affairs there, and who are certainly no less honourable and intelligent than the exponents of their alleged misdoings.

If it be suggested that Dr. Rutherford levels no accusation against individuals, the reply naturally arises that it is impossible to separate the proceedings, in their personal aspect, of Government servants in India from the gross mismanagement, and indeed infamy, which, with a complete disregard of the facts, he ascribes to the administrative agency of that country.

Dr. Rutherford wrote before the announcement of the reforms now contemplated, which he contemptuously refers to in advance as "*the proposals of a hidebound officialism, jealous of its authority and its selfish interests*"; but he must hereby dissociate himself from the great outburst of approbation with which they have been met by Indians of all classes; for the proposals do not, fortunately, embrace the thorough-going plan of popular representation, leading up to complete self-government, which, in his article, are so confidently advocated. He writes: "*Let those who say the Indians are not fit to govern themselves go and tell that lie to Japan, Persia, Bulgaria, the Transvaal, and Turkey, not to mention Baroda and other Indian States, and ruminate on the reply.*"

Presumably he means here that the kingdoms named or indicated have either worked out their political regeneration or are in course of doing so. But where is the analogy between these countries and Hindustan? Is the homogeneous national sentiment which animates Japan to be found in India? Is any comparison possible between Bulgaria and India? or, for that matter, between the latter

country and Persia or Turkey? What about the Transvaal Boers—their treatment of Asiatics and their Kafir population, with reference to what Dr. Rutherford calls "*the sinister bar of colour*" in India? Finally, is there self-government in Baroda or any of the 600 and odd Native States in India? Ask these chiefs how far they admit their subjects to constitutional privileges, "*and ruminate on the reply.*"

According to Dr. Rutherford, the person who asserts that Indians are not now fit to govern themselves is a liar. It would be interesting to know, when judged by this test, how many truthful men, besides Dr. Rutherford, are in existence. A goodly number of those who have devoted the best years of their life to India, or are still serving there in the closest touch with the people, honestly believe that the bulk of the population are as yet unaffected by recent events, and have no sympathy with an agitation which they do not understand; that the very small proportion of literates amongst the inarticulate millions renders it impossible that they can for many years to come be qualified to exercise the franchise; that the enormous size of India and its conflicting interests render it a dangerous heresy to regard that country as one nation, or to speak of the "people of India" as if they were unanimous in sentiment, or possessed of anything in common except that they occupy one geographical unit. All this is, of course, the ABC of the Indian problem. A simple sum in arithmetic would show Dr. Rutherford how many Mohammedans and how many of the lower castes there are, for whom the Brahmins and lawyers, who comprise the bulk of the agitators, can have no claim to speak.

Dr. Rutherford is very severe upon the Partition of Bengal, to which he refers as "*conceived in sin and matured in strife—this piece of Curzonian iniquity,*" "*this accursed transaction,*" "*Lord Curzon's crime.*" Some men of considerable experience now, or previously, in the Indian administrative ranks are wanton enough even to approve

this measure, as do the majority of the inhabitants of the new province, whilst the *Times* correspondent now in India, who seems to be a fairly capable observer, has a good deal to say about the Partition, summarizing his remarks as follows : "*The Partition stands in no need of renewed justification, for it has been entirely justified by results.*" It was impossible to carry out such a large scheme without giving rise to some discontent, and at the time there was, unhappily, a good deal of loose gunpowder about, which readily ignited. It may, indeed, be that the time—nearly two years—during which the project was under public examination, and the fact that the Viceroy made tremendous personal efforts to explain and popularize the measure, tended to embitter the controversy. Everyone is entitled to his opinion as to the expediency or otherwise of dividing up overgrown Bengal, but in this connection to attribute sinfulness and criminality to Lord Curzon seems to suggest that, having nothing particular to urge in the way of argument, Dr. Rutherford resorts to unstinted vituperation, on the principle of "a weak case, abuse your adversary."

It is a pleasure to turn from Dr. Rutherford to a distinguished Frenchman, Monsieur Joseph Chailley, who, as a Professor in the Theory of Colonial Government, has paid visits to India and various Eastern colonial possessions, in order to study the questions there arising at the fountain-head. In an article recently published in *L'Opinion*, after criticizing in an absolutely impartial manner, and not always in a flattering strain, the various branches of our administration in India, he concludes :

"*Without a doubt this English rule is not wholly good—more than one reform has failed. Neither education, nor the administration of justice, nor legislation, however carefully considered it may have been, is entirely above criticism. But in these matters, so strangely difficult, only the ignorant would dare to criticize without reservation all that the English have done. The whole policy, essentially English, is healthy, happily conceived, and skilfully practised. The*

population approves at least by its silence, and at bottom applauds. Only a very small body of noble souls, and a more compact troupe of ambitious people, blame and menace Government. But their number is not imposing, nor is their force redoubtable. Also, in spite of the awakening of Asia, England need not at present tremble for the duration of her rule. The people and their traditional and moral interests are at one with her, so also in our opinion are their present and material interests."

The silver lining to India's cloud is, Dr. Rutherford suggests, the King's Proclamation. The importance of that gracious message can hardly be over-estimated. It must also be admitted that in a certain area of the Indian continent there is trouble, but it is a gross exaggeration to point to this as a cloud enveloping the whole country. If Dr. Rutherford be really anxious to do some service to our Aryan brethren in the East, he will, mindful of the responsibility which attaches to his position, abandon the sensational style of writing, and, before framing mischievous appeals to the democracy, consider the advantage and the fairness of humdrum statements of facts over tall and unreliable denunciations.

## THE FRONTIERS OF BALUCHISTAN.\*

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. TATE.

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the humble and usually impecunious author prefaced his volume with a dedication, usually fulsome in its flattery, to some powerful and wealthy patron. In the twentieth century the patron is pleased to write the preface himself. In inviting Sir Henry McMahon to do him this little favour, Mr. Tate has selected the Indian official best qualified and best entitled to do it. The demarcation of the Indo-Afghan boundary from Domandi on the Ghilzai border to Kuh-i-Malik-siyah on the eastern frontier of Persia was carried out by Colonel McMahon in 1896-1897, and from 1903-1905 he served his country well as the chief of a mission to Sistan, which checkmated Russian enterprise in that quarter. The Russian Government did its best for years to undermine the prescriptive claim which India had upon Sistan. Under the recent Anglo-Russian Convention, Sistan comes within the British zone; but if Colonel McMahon, backed by a strong armed force, had not been maintained by the Government of India in Sistan under the pretext of resettling the Goldsmid boundary, it is possible that Sir Edward Grey might have found himself constrained to allow it to pass into the neutral zone. Now it is very essential for the security of the Indian Empire and of the dominions of our ally, the Amir of Afghanistan, that Sistan should be under British control. Moreover, through it passes the chief trade-route between India and North-East Persia.

Much that is written in Mr. Tate's interesting and well-illustrated book recalls to life the memories of my own brief visit to Sistan in 1884, when I accompanied the Afghan

\* "The Frontiers of Baluchistan: Travels on the Borders of Persia and Afghanistan," by G. P. Tate. Witherby and Co., 326, High Holborn, London, 1909.

Boundary Commission from Nushki across the Baluch Desert to Herat. And here let me suggest to Mr. Tate that when he speaks of the several missions which India has sent to or through Sistan he must not confound the titles. The appellation of "Afghan Boundary Commission" is sacred to that body of which Sir Peter Lumsden was the head, and with which Sir West Ridgeway won his way to prominence and fame. On p. 53 of Mr. Tate's book we read : "From Zaru to Kani we were on ground which the Afghan Boundary Commission had traversed in 1896." Mr. Tate no doubt means the Indo-Afghan Boundary Commission under Major McMahon. But in 1884 the real Afghan Boundary Commission also marched from Zaru to Kani. On p. 57, again, I find : "Probably we were the first British officers who looked down on the Helmand, so low in its course, since the days when Colonel Pollock and Dr. Bellew passed along it on their way to Seistan nearly thirty years before." Now in the autumn of 1884 the Afghan Boundary Commission crossed the same fifty-mile strip of desert, struck the Helmand at Khwaja Ali, and followed the course of that river, more or less, to Band-i-Kamal Khan, and thence to the Hamun. Among the reproductions which I possess of pictures made by Sir Edward Durand in 1884 are two of the Helmand Valley between Khwaja Ali and Band-i-Kamal Khan.

It is practically impossible for any writer who is extremely familiar with his subject to avoid letting fall here and there casual allusions which his own mind and memory can at once expand into intelligible story, but which are caviare to the general. This thought is engendered by the brief reference on p. 133 to the murder of Dr. Forbes in 1841. Of this incident two entirely different narratives exist. The Frenchman Ferrier ("Caravan Journeys," pp. 415, 416) attributes the murder to Ali Khan Sarbandi, chief of the district of Sheikh Nassoor. Ferrier himself met this Ali Khan in October of 1845, and dubs him a "monster." His account of Dr. Forbes's death is given in these words :

"A few years before the date at which I am writing Ali Khan received a visit at Sheikh Nassoor from an English doctor of the name of Forbes. . . . Ali Khan murdered him in his sleep, and hung poor Forbes's body up in front of his own tent." According to Ferrier, the reputation for wealth enjoyed by Europeans in Sistan had given rise to the superstitious belief that their very flesh and bones could be transmuted into sterling gold, and based on that superstition he founds a gruesome tale of Ali Khan's treatment of the murdered man's corpse. The whole of this narrative, for which Ferrier is the sole authority, is now regarded as apocryphal.

It was Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson who sent Forbes and Pattinson from Kandahar to explore the Helmand Valley in 1841, and on p. 216 of "England and Russia in the East" (second edition) he names them among the long roll of British victims of geographical research in Central Asia. The *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1842 gives Rawlinson's version of Forbes's death. He attributes it to the suspicion created in the minds of the natives of Sistan by the too open methods adopted by Forbes for the purpose of collecting information and "the most minute geographical and statistical details," and states that "at the very moment of recrossing the Seistan frontier he was barbarously murdered by Ibrahim Khan." The question of Dr. Forbes's murder was closely inquired into by the Goldsmid Mission, and both in the official narrative by Majors St. John Lovett and Euan Smith and the unofficial work ("From the Indus to the Tigris") of Bellew, the complicity of Ibrahim Khan of Chakhansur in this murder is proved, and evidence is adduced to show that the murder was committed under the influence of *charras* or *bhang*, an intoxicating drug made from Indian hemp, the pernicious effects of which on body and mind are well known to all who have lived in the East. It is, however, quite possible that Ibrahim Khan may have been influenced by the suspicions to which Rawlinson refers,

and, making a pretext of a shooting-party, shot Forbes as Dr. Bellew relates. Bellew says that Forbes was shot in 1842. If news of the disaster at Kabul in January, 1842, had reached Ibrahim, he would doubtless murder Forbes with the same assurance of impunity as that which prompted the Amir of Bokhara to order the execution of Stoddart and Conolly. On May 23, 1842, the President of the Royal Geographical Society delivered his annual address, and in that quotes Major Rawlinson's account of Dr. Forbes's mission and death. 'If the murder took place in or after January, 1842, was there time for the news of it to reach London before May 23 of that year? Presumably not, unless through His Majesty's Legation at Teheran. I gather that the first authentic account of Forbes's death was given by the Russian traveller Khanikoff. I have not, however, access at the moment to his work.'

I am interested to see that Mr. Tate has given to the world a photograph of a Sistan windmill. In 1884 we of the Afghan Boundary Commission studied them as curiosities, and noted how admirably the structure was adapted to catching the full force of the prevailing wind. The "bad-i-sadobist-rüz" \* was blowing when we crossed Sistan in November, 1884—a bitter north-west wind. In the narrow channel of the Anardara Pass we struggled against its full force. I endeavoured some twenty-five years ago to describe the Sistan windmill in the columns of the *Pioneer*, and my description is to be found in my "Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission," pp. 107 and 129.

Mr. Tate's book recalls many memories of a quarter of a century ago. Azad Khan, at once the Sandow and the de la Marck of Baluchistan, came to Nushki in September, 1884. I shook hands with him then. I remember still his powerful grip and sinewy frame. I have put on record that he was then reputed to be ninety-five years old. At that age he had ridden from Kháran to Nushki in a

\* "The wind that blows for 120 days."

marvellously small number of days. Mr. Tate says : "At the time of his death, in 1885, he was said to be a hundred and five years old." Ah well ! in that case he counted the last year as tenfold—a right which I am perfectly willing to concede to all centenarians who do not draw old-age pensions. Sir Charles Macgregor devotes a whole chapter of his "*Wanderings in Baluchistan*" (1876-1877) to "*Azad Khan the Bandit*."

In 1884 I left near Umar Shah in the Baluch Desert a row of tall willows in the act of being buried under the relentless sand. They must be buried long ere this. I notice that most writers who have traversed this desert, stretching from Shorāwak on the east to Teheran on the west, dwell on the formation and shape of the sandhills. Macgregor ("*Wanderings in Baluchistan*," p. 157) gives a careful description and a sketch of them. Dr. Vaughan Cornish has carefully studied the action and motion of sand and the formation of sandhills, and the results of his studies have appeared, if I remember rightly, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.

Baluchistan and Sistan have played no small part in the world's history. Across Mekran, in the fourth century B.C., marched Alexander's army on its return from India to Persia. Through the same country, in the eighth century after Christ, passed the first Mohammedan force that invaded India. Sistan was the home of the greatest of Persian heroes, Rustam, and the scene of Taimur-i-lang's (Tamerlane) prowess. In fact, the last-named found it a populous country, and left it a desert, and a desert it has been ever since. And what of its future ? A telegraph line now crosses it, connecting Kirman with Quetta. The caravan route between India and Eastern Persia passes through it. The railway, which now halts at Nushki, is bound sooner or later to be extended to Sistan and to Persia. Where, in 1884, guided by a ploughed line by day and at night by great bonfires, with much economy of water and fodder, we found our way in fifteen days from Nushki to the Helmand, steam will carry

future travellers in fifteen hours or less. The development of railways in Persia and Turkey in Asia cannot long be delayed, and with those railways the Nushki line must sooner or later be linked. It is possible, then, that the known prosperity of Sistan during the centuries that elapsed between the era of Alexander the Great and that of Taimur-i-lang may be restored in this twentieth century.

We are certainly indebted to Mr. Tate for placing before us in a convenient and attractive form the latest information about a country which, owing to its position, must become year by year of more and more importance in the political and commercial world. The illustrations are very good.

## REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

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### GENERAL WORKS.

IN our Report of July, 1908, we have referred to the first volume and the first part of the third volume of the Transactions of the Fourteenth Congress of Orientalists of Algiers, 1905. The two last volumes (second, and second part of the third) have now appeared.\* They contain the papers read in the following sections: Semitic languages, African languages, Mussulman languages, African archæology, and Mussulman art. If one adds to these four thick volumes the proceedings of the Congress, which appeared in the *Revue Africaine* (Nos. 258, 259: Algiers, 1905), we can say that this Congress has carried out its promise to publish a complete report of its transactions, and thus we congratulate Professor R. Basset, who has so well executed his great task.

The third International Congress of History of Religions, which took place at Oxford in September, 1908, has brought out its transactions and papers† in two splendid volumes. The religions and ethics of the East are well represented in it. Few Congresses have published their proceedings with such rapidity and with such remarkable care. This is due to Professor Carpenter's exertions, and he deserves all praise.

Under the title of "Morales et Religions,"‡ a collection of lectures appeared, by a group of professors and men of letters of Paris—Allier, Carra de Vaux, Croiset, Ehrhardt, de Faye, Lods, etc., professors of the various higher institutions in Paris, such as the Faculty of Literature, the Protestant Faculty of Theology, the École des Hautes

\* Paris: E. Leroux, 1907 and 1908.

† Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

‡ Paris: F. Alcan, 1909.

Études, etc. The work is composed of a series of lectures, delivered at the École des Hautes Études Sociales, on the different moral conceptions inherent in the various forms of religious thought. It is preceded by a general essay on the bearings of religion and morals from the sociological point of view. Ethics and Religion, Jewish Ethics, Ethics of the Prophets, Ethics and Religion in Ancient Greece, the Ethics of St. Paul, the Similarity in Certain Points of Christianity and Hellenism, the School of Alexandria, the Ethics of Islam, Luther, the Ethics of the Quakers, Japanese Ethics—such are the various subjects treated in this book. The religions of the East occupy an important place in it. The articles contained in this work are of unequal merit.

To the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," by F. Vigouroux, fasciculus 33 has been added (*Prière to Ravissement*).\* It contains important articles on the Prophets, the Psalms, and on several Biblical localities.

#### OLD TESTAMENT, HISTORY OF ISRAEL, TALMUD, ETC.

Ch. Bruston, in the last fasciculus of his "Études Bibliques : Ancien Testament,"† goes into the discussion relative to the Fall recorded in Genesis. He concludes with the identification of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and gives the excellent translation of the difficult text (Gen. iii. 15) : "She [the race of the woman] will dominate thee at the head, but thou [the serpent] wilt dominate her at the heel." The author determines the doubtful sense of the verb קָשַׁׁר in this verse from a Phœnician text (inscription of the temple of Eshmun of King Bod-Astarté) discovered a short time ago, and gives it the meaning of to dominate, or to overcome, which suits all the Biblical passages where this term occurs.

A. Causse has studied the origin of the Jewish doctrine of the Resurrection, and has brought out an interesting

\* Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1909.

† Paris : Fischbacher, 1909.

pamphlet on the subject.\* He thinks that the foreign influences (Mazdeism) are not sufficient to explain the rise of that belief in posterior Judaism ; it is during the period of struggles and persecutions (Maccabees) that this doctrine was formed : it expressed the longing of the just and of the martyrs. The same author broached the same problem in the first part of a better developed paper on the Messianic hope in Judaism and Christianity.†

J. K. Cheyne published an interesting volume where he applies, for the first time, to an important part of the history of Israel his famous theory "called not the Jerahmeelite, but the North-Arabian Theory." The work is entitled, "The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah."‡

W. Caspari has published an interesting account of an episode of King David's reign and the revolt of Absalom.§ One can judge by this work of all the resources that the Biblical texts offer for a detailed exposition and a deep study of a particular fact in the history of Israel.

The German translation of the Talmud of Babylon, published by A. Goldschmidt, has been enriched by a new part —the second portion of the Treaty of Menahoth.||

The publication of the French translation of Zohar advances rapidly ; vols. iii. and iv.¶ have appeared since our last Report. One cannot sufficiently encourage the publisher, E. Lafuma, who has made a point of publishing the posthumous translation of J. de Pauly. This work deserves to have a place in all the public libraries and Universities. The Zohar is really the classical book of Jewish literature (cabalistic).

\* "Der Ursprung der Jüdischen Lehre von der Auferstehung." Cahors A. Coueslant, 1908.

† "L'Évolution de l'Espérance Messianique dans le Christianisme Primitif." Paris : Fischbacher, 1908.

‡ London : Adam and Charles Black, 1908.

§ "Aufkommen und Krise des israelitischen Königums unter David, Ursachen, Teilnehmer und Verlauf des Absalomschen Aufstandes." Berlin : Trowitzsch, 1909.

|| Leipzig : O. Harrassowitz, 1908.

¶ Paris : E. Leroux, 1908 and 1909.

## ISLAM, MOROCCO, THE BERBERS OF MAGHREB.\*

E. Doutté, to whose admirable works on the Islam of North Africa we have often referred, has just brought out a work of the highest merit on the subject of "Magic and Religion in North Africa," a study of Mussulman society of Maghreb.† All that touches magic and religion is analyzed and thoroughly examined in this masterly work—magicians, divines, magical rites, incantations, talismans, divination, sacrifices, feasts of seasons, the carnival of Maghreb, relations of magic and religion, etc. The contents of this work of folk-lore in the North of Africa (Islam and latent paganism dominating under Mussulman forms), is of extraordinary richness and of much interest. The author has added an important number of diagrams of talismans, amulets, magic squares, etc.; his work, which overflows with facts and conclusions on the origin of the relations of magic and religion, will be of lively interest to philosophic and religious minds. The work of E. Doutté reflects great honour on the author and on the École des Lettres of Algiers, to which he belongs.

We have to announce, since our last Report, the "Livre Jaune," which the French Government has published on Morocco.‡ It contains the documents from October 12, 1907, to October 14, 1908; the campaign of Casablanca, campaign of Beni-Snassen, the fight of the Upper Guir, etc. All these documents together are of much interest.

Syed Bulifa has published recently an interesting volume. It consists of Berber texts in the Morocco dialect of the Atlas.§ The author was sent on a mission to Morocco.

\* Arabic name for north coast of Africa.

† Alger: A. Jourdan, 1909 (617 pages in 8vo.).

‡ "Affaires du Maroc IV., 1907-1908" (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères). Paris, 1908.

§ Paris: E. Leroux, 1909 ("Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Algier").

After exploring the Atlas he installed himself in Marakesh, where he devoted all his time to a deep study of the linguistics and sociology of Morocco. The dialect he studied is the one of Demnat, a small Berber town situated in the valley of Wady Tassaout, and at the foot of the great Atlas, about eighty kilometres to the east of Marakesh. This centre exercises a political and economical influence on all the central tribes of the Atlas. That is why the author chose the dialect of this locality, in order to study it from the linguistic and social point of view. The work consists of three parts—(1) Berber texts, with transcription and French translation; (2) Notes on the dialect of Demnat, or essay on the grammar; (3) a Berber-French glossary. The chosen texts initiate one into the customs and the social life of the Berbers of that region of the Atlas (birth, marriage, divorce, war, agriculture, religion, etc.). This fine work reflects great credit on the author and on the École des Lettres of Algiers.

In the "Archives Marocaines" (vol. xiv.)\* appears a work of deep erudition and great interest by N. Slouschz, on Hebraic-Phœnician and Judaic-Berber; it is an introduction to the history of the Jews and Judaism in Africa. The work, extraordinarily rich in facts, is divided into two parts—(1) The Hebraic-Phœnician; and (2) the Judaic-Hellenic and the Judaic-Berber. We mention a few of the conclusions of the author. 1. Alongside of the Phœnicians of Tyrus, a primitive Judaism, scarcely monotheistic, spread in the regions of the Mediterranean. 2. The Judaic-Berber is the result of the many crossings among all the inhabitants, civilized or barbarian, who disputed with each other for the North of Africa. 3. The mythological traditions of the Hebraic-Phœnicians are found again amongst the Judaic-Berbers. These theses sum up the very complex work of the author, and give a sufficient idea of the method and the results to which he arrives.

\* Paris: E. Leroux, 1908 (473 pages in 8vo.).

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA.

The University of Geneva, founded by Calvin in 1559, will celebrate its 350th anniversary from July 7 to July 10 next. It is known that since its origin the Semitic languages were taught in it, and that to this University belonged several distinguished Hebrew scholars. The study of Oriental languages has never ceased to be appreciated, and at the present day the following languages and literatures are taught : Hebrew, Aramaic, Talmudic, Rabbinic, Arabic, and Sanscrit.

THE MONOTHEISTIC RELIGION OF  
ANCIENT INDIA AND ITS DESCENDANT,  
THE MODERN HINDU DOCTRINE  
OF FAITH.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT.

[In order to prevent misconceptions, I would explain that in the following paper by "monotheism" I mean "the doctrine or belief that there is but one God." According to this definition, there is nothing to prevent a monotheist from offering adoration to persons or things other than the one God, provided he does not consider them as God in the sense in which the word is applied to the one God.]

BEFORE proceeding to the subject-matter of this paper, I would explain that I claim no originality for the historical portions. My object has been to utilize the results achieved by other students, notably Professors Bhandarkar, Garbe, and Barnett, so as to throw light upon the root idea of the modern Hindu religions of India. The conceptions current in this country regarding these religions are often grotesquely incorrect, and if I succeed in persuading the reader to look at them for a few minutes from another point of view my aim will have been accomplished.

When writers on the religious beliefs of India desire to give a general view of the subject, they usually offer one or other of two entirely contradictory accounts. One of these has lately been presented by an eminent English divine, long resident in India, in the following words:

"One of the greatest obstacles to the spread of Christianity amongst educated men in India is the fact that a false philosophy has gone far to undermine and destroy the pre-suppositions of natural religion which render the evidence for the truth of Christianity credible. When the idea of a personal God, who has created and rules the world, and who cares for and loves the creatures whom He has made, has been obscured and lost, it is difficult to bring home to

men the probability of a revelation or the reasonableness of the Incarnation."

I think that this is an entirely mistaken view of the general religious belief of the natives of India, whether educated or uneducated. The writer is describing the pantheism of the Vedānta school of Indian philosophy, which has been made familiar to us by the writings of Sanskrit scholars in this country. But, as a popular religion of India, this, if it ever existed as such, is dead. It is professed only by a certain number of learned Brahmins, and out of the 207,000,000 of Hindus, I question if there are 7,000,000 of these. I have mixed much with Hindus of all grades of society, and I can only remember one educated man who was not a professed Pandit, and who was at the same time a whole-hearted and devoted believer in this pantheism. The great majority of Hindus belong to one or other of the Vishnuite churches, and every single member of these does believe, heart and soul, in a personal God, who has created and rules the world, and who does care for and love the creatures He has made. He also believes in the reasonableness of the theory of Incarnation.

The other picture presented of Hindu religion is that it is a seething mixture of rampant polytheism and gross fetishism. It is unnecessary to quote any authorities for this ; it can be met with in many missionary publications. I do not say that this picture is entirely false ; but I do say it is far, very far, from being the whole truth. It is a picture of the external surface-superstition, not of the religion itself.

Modern Hindus may be broadly divided into two great churches—the Shívites and the Vishnuites. The former are mainly confined to certain limited tracts of India, and are in a minority. Vishnuism reigns practically supreme over the whole of India west of Benares, and has also millions of votaries to the east of the degree of longitude passing through that city. We shall not be overstepping the mark if we say that 150,000,000 of the inhabitants of India follow this cult.

As I am dealing only with the general question, when I speak of Hindus in this paper, I must be taken as referring to Vishnuites only. The worshipper of Vishnu is essentially a monotheist.

To find the origin of this monotheism we shall have to go back to very ancient times. We are familiar with the phenomenon of what Max Müller calls the "henotheism" of Vedic literature, an attitude of mind that led the polytheistic worshipper to look upon the deity he was at the time adoring as, for the nonce, the only God. But there are traces of a higher monotheism than this in the Vedas, and some of the hymns in honour of the god Varuna very nearly approach our idea of this form of belief. In later times such monotheism disappeared from religious literature. The Vedic religion became the monopoly of Brahman priests, and under their guidance developed into the pantheism already referred to. This belief is the only religion of this period of Indian history for which we have full details, for it was the Brahmans who held the key of literature. Nevertheless, even in these early days, it was not by any means the only Aryan religion of India.

The migration of the Aryans into India was a long process, extending over many generations. The earlier comers were separated from the later ones by differences of customs, of religion, and of language. There were internecine quarrels amongst them which resulted in the overlordship of those who had settled in the country known as the *Madhyadesha*, or "Midland"—*i.e.*, that part of India which lies near the modern Delhi and to its immediate north. It was amongst the powerful inhabitants of this "Midland" that the Brahman caste gradually secured the monopoly of those priestly functions which had hitherto been practised by the warrior caste as well as by the priest, and it was here that this pantheism grew up over the still popular polytheism of the lower classes.

The word "Midland" suggests the idea of an "Outland," also inhabited by Aryans, encircling the Midland on

the east, south, and west. It has long been recognized that these Aryans of the Outland were not so thoroughly subjected to the religious influence of the Brahmins as their kindred of the Midland. Here the thinkers belonged, not to the Brahman, but to the warrior caste, to whose learning and critical acumen witness is borne even in the contemporary Brahmanical writings. Here, during the thousand years that preceded our era, while the Brahmins were developing their pantheism, the leading spirits of the warrior class thought out their monotheism.

As to the earliest form of this monotheism, from scattered references which have been collected by Professor Bhandarkar in India and by Professor Garbe in Europe, we may be pretty sure of the following facts. The founder of the religion was one Krishna Vāsudeva, a member of the warrior caste. He called the object of his worship "Bhagavat," or "The Adorable," and his followers called themselves "Bhāgavatas," or "Worshippers of the Adorable." The religion was at first adopted by the people of Krishna Vāsudeva's own tribe, and gradually spread over the greater part of the Outland. Before the fourth century B.C., its founder, as has happened in the case of many other religions, was given divine honours, and, under his patronymic of Vāsudeva, became identified with the Adorable. In its original form the religion was strongly monotheistic. Vāsudeva taught that the Supreme Being was infinite, eternal, and full of grace, and that salvation consisted, not in absorption and loss of identity, but in a life of perpetual bliss near Him.

We have no literary evidence as to the train of reasoning by which this doctrine was reached, but to me it appears more than probable that it was a development of the sun-worship that was the common heritage of both branches of the Aryan people—the Eranian and the Indian.

All the legends dealing with the origins of the Bhāgavata religion are connected in some way or other with the sun. According to the *Mahābhārata* (xii., 12,983) the Adorable

Himself taught the religion to the seer Nārada, who taught it to, amongst others, the sun, who communicated it to mankind. The greatest and most worshipped of all the incarnations of the Adorable—that of Rāma-chandra—was by human origin a descendant of the sun. Several of the legends connected with Bhāgavata saints are also connected with the sun. Sugrīva, Rāma's ally, had the sun for his father. Many stories are told about Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāndavas; but in the Acta Sanctorum of the Bhāgavatas, the Bhakta-māla, only one is thought worthy of mention, and that is connected with a miracle performed by Krishna with the aid of a marvellous cooking-pot given to her by the sun. Satrājīt, Krishna's father-in-law, was a sun-worshipper, and received from the luminary a jewel which became the subject of many stories. One of the very earliest heretics recorded in Brahmanical literature was Yājnavalkya. According to the Vishnu Purāna (III. v. ff.), he refused to obey his preceptor's command to join in worship with people whom he styled "miserable and inefficient Brahmans." He explained that he acted "in" or "for bhakti" (the MSS. differ), and rejected so much of the Yajur Veda as he had learnt from his teacher. He then departed and worshipped the sun, who imparted to him a new and schismatical Yajur Veda of its own. With this he betook himself to Janaka, a famous king of the Outland, the legendary father-in-law of Rāma-chandra, and intimately connected with the origins of the Bhāgavata monotheism. The Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III. i.) tells how he discussed religious matters with Janaka and converted him, and how he disputed with and silenced orthodox Brahmans. According to Bhāgavata eschatology, the saved soul first of all passes through the sun on its way to the Adorable after death. Even at the present day the sun is given the title of "Bhagavat" by the peasants of Northern India. In modern language *Bhagavat Sūrya*, the Adorable Sun, becomes *Sūruj Bhagavān*. Nimbārka, the earliest of the modern Bhāgavata reformers, commenced his career by

causing the sun to stand still, and was descended from the sun. Finally, in the latter stages of the Bhāgavata religion, the Adorable is identified with Vishnu, a deity who, in the oldest Indian literature, was worshipped as a sun-god.

As Professor Garbe has well remarked,\* there has always been manifest in India a strong tendency to combine religion with philosophy, and this being fostered by the speculative inclinations of the warrior caste, it followed that, as time went on, and as interest in philosophical questions spread amongst the people of India, this monotheism, as expressed in the Bhāgavata religion, was given a philosophic basis. The pantheistic philosophy of the Midland Brahmans was altogether opposed to this monotheism, and the Bhāgavatas naturally turned to those systems of philosophy which had sprung up in the freer atmosphere of the non-Brahmanized Outland. There were two of these systems—the ancient Sāṅkhya and its daughter the Yōga. They are of the utmost importance for the history of religion in India, for not only did they influence Bhagavatism, but they also gave inspiration to Buddhism and to Jainism, both of which great religions were also founded by men of the warrior caste, and took their origin in the Outland.

Now, the Sāṅkhya system is a purely philosophic atheism, which categorically denies the existence of any Supreme God. Moreover, it does not trouble itself with ethics. The Bhāgavata religion, on the other hand, had a God, and was strongly ethical in character. The bridge between these two opposing systems was afforded by an ethical development of Sāṅkhya, called the Yōga system of philosophy. Here the Bhāgavatas found the ethics which were essential for the alliance, and they persuaded the Yōga doctors to accept the idea of a God. In return, they accepted the main philosophical tenets of the Sāṅkhya-Yōga. This brings us to the end of the first stage of the development of Bhagavatism.

\* *Bhagavad Gitā*, p. 28.

Its second stage is marked by an alliance with the pantheism of the Midland, which we may place roughly in the three centuries immediately preceding our era. It is most probable that the immediate cause of this fusion was, as Professor Garbe suggests,\* the life and death struggle between the Brahmans and that other great religion of the Outland, Buddhism. Buddhism had no God. The religion of the Midland had at least a shadowy Pantheos. Between the two lay the monotheistic Bhagavatism. The Brahmins won over the Bhāgavatas as their allies in the contest, and paid a price for the alliance. This price was firstly, the identification of Vāsudeva with Vishnu, an ancient sun-god worshipped by the polytheistic lower orders of the Midland, and, secondly, the confession by the Brahmins of the spiritual orthodoxy of the monotheistic tenets of the warrior caste. The incorporation was carried out in exactly the same way as that in which we see Brahmanism extending its frontiers at the present day. We have the process going on before our eyes in India now. Local aboriginal deities are discovered to be identical with Shiva or some other member of the Brahmanical Pantheon, and the distinction of caste is conferred upon the converts. Usually they are declared to be Rajputs, or, in other words, of the warrior caste. In other respects the aboriginal customs and belief are at first left untouched, and in a couple of generations no more ardent supporters of the claims of the Brahmanical priesthood can be found than those who are still fetish-ridden savages. Thus it happened with the Bhāgavatas. Their religion became a cult of Brahmanized anti-Brahmanists. The treaty of peace is found in the older parts of the celebrated *Bhagavad Gītā*, of which all the noblest ethical sentiments are clearly of Bhāgavata origin. The Adorable is in it fully identified with Vishnu—but not yet with the Brahmins' Pantheos—and Krishna, the personal name of the warrior Vāsudeva, is also given admission to the

\* *Bhagavad Gītā*, p. 35.

popular catalogue of gods as an incarnation of the same deity.

As time went on, that occurred, which history has many times since repeated, and Bhagavatism fell more and more under the sway of the Brahmans. We see this earliest in the more modern portions of the Bhagavad Gītā, which belong to the first two centuries after our era. In Northern India, where the influence of the Midland was strongest, the Bhāgavatas even adopted pantheistic tenets, and identified the Pantheos with the Adorable, although they never made pantheism a vital part of their religion. It never worked itself into the texture of the doctrines, but in the later scriptures is proclaimed and recognized as truth, or silently ignored, according to the passing mood of the writer. The textbooks of this semi-pantheistic Bhagavatism are the latter portion of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata and the famous Bhāgavata Purāna. Few religious books have been so violently attacked and so vigorously defended as the latter work.

In the early part of the ninth century A.D., the celebrated Shankara systematized the ancient pantheism of the Midland, and made it the Vedānta philosophy of which we hear so much in this country. His system, far more rigid than the pantheism on which it is founded, compelled him to attack with great vigour the Bhāgavata monotheism, hitherto grudgingly recognized as orthodox, but his assaults had an unexpected result. The Bhāgavatas were put upon their defence, and two lines of counter-attack were taken. On one, those who remained faithful to the alliance with pantheism contented themselves with combating Shankara's arguments only so far as they were incompatible with their interpretation of the old pantheistic teaching; on the other, and bolder line, the old alliance with pantheism was finally broken. Bhāgavatas roundly declared that it, especially as developed by Shankara, was but Buddhist atheism in disguise, and a return was made to the old Sāṅkhya-Yōga doctrines which had been abandoned, or

partly abandoned, in favour of pantheism. The struggle culminated in the twelfth and following centuries in a great revival of Bhagavatism, which swept like a flood over the whole of India, and has since held its own as the spiritual guide of all Hindus, except the comparatively few who follow Shivism, and the small minority of Pandits who profess Shankara's philosophic Vedāntism. From it have sprung the numerous Vishnuite sects of the present day, differing in details, as they follow one or other of the two lines of defence above referred to, but all agreeing in upholding the original tenets of the Bhāgavata religion. In other words, modern Hinduism is nothing but a development of Bhagavatism.

The following are the main tenets of the modern Bhāgavata religion as they were fixed at the revival of the twelfth century. They are taken from writings of the sixteenth century A.D., which are still of great authority.

God, the Adorable, is One, existing from eternity to eternity. He is the Creator of all things out of matter which has proceeded from Himself. From Him issue all souls, which henceforth exist for ever as distinct individuals. He has created Brahmā, Shiva, and the countless subordinate deities to carry out His will in creating and ruling the world and to promulgate the true faith. The burden of ruling the world He lays upon His agents, but, from time to time, as occasion demands, in His infinite grace He Himself becomes incarnate to relieve the world from sin or His followers from trouble. *India thus owes the idea of a God of Grace—of the Fatherhood of God—to the Bhāgavatas.*

Towards this Adorable One duty and recognition alike compel the adoption of a certain attitude, commonly known as *bhakti*, which may be translated as "devotional faith." This *bhakti* is the special characteristic of the Bhāgavata religion—so much so that it is nowadays generally known as the *bhakti-mārga*, or, "way of faith." There was no room for this virtue in the pantheism of the Brahmins,

and it is to the warrior caste and to the Bhāgavatas that India owes the idea of faith in a personal God.

Once emitted by the Adorable, the soul exists for ever. According to the universal Indian belief, this soul is liable to transmigration. Everything that a man does is an effect of something that has gone before, and a cause of something to come. As a man soweth, so shall he reap, and the harvest is the weary round of perpetual birth and rebirth. All Indian religions and systems of philosophy are devoted to discovering the means of breaking this chain of cause and effect. Vedāntism prescribes a particular kind of knowledge as the only means, and maintains that the breaking of the chain, or "release," consists in the absorption of the soul ~~into~~ the Pantheos, and hence in absolute loss of identity. The Bhāgavatas, on the other hand, believe that faith, and faith alone, can break the chain, and that the released soul has an everlasting conscious existence near the Adorable. The soul, as they say, does not become Him, but becomes "like Him." *It is to the Bhāgavatas, again, that India owes the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.*

The Adorable, in His graciousness, makes no distinction between soul and soul. All men are equal in His sight, and He grants salvation to every mortal, no matter how low his caste, provided only he has faith. Salvation is not a prerogative of the learned or of the higher classes. It follows from this that, although caste distinctions may be necessary for the world's social welfare, to the perfect believer who is full of faith, all men are equal, and caste does not exist. *From the Fatherhood of God proceeds the Brotherhood of Man, and this idea, again, India owes to the Bhāgavatas.*

Through all this there runs, persisting like a silver thread, the confident and positive belief in one personal God. He has His Energetic Force, considered as distinct from and yet one with Himself, and He has His Incarnations ; but, with this conception of a Trinity, the religion is as monotheistic

as Christianity. Other "gods" are spoken of—millions of them, great and small—but in spite of this a Bhāgavata is no more a polytheist than was the Jew who used the word "*lōhīm*" both for the Supreme and for His ministers. Just so does the modern Hindu use the word *deva* both for the Adorable and for His ministering creatures, Brahmā, Shiva, and the rest, Divine but finite, whom He called into temporary being to fulfil His will. We translate "*lōhīm*" by "God" or by "angel," according to its sense. If we translate *deva* uniformly by "God," no matter what idea it is meant to express in the original, it does not prove that the Bhāgavatas were polytheists, but it does prove that we are bad, and, what is worse, unfair translators. It is true that, unlike the Hebrew angels, these subordinate *devas* are objects of adoration; but many Christians who adore beings other than the Supreme would be indignant if they were told that they were not monotheists. The Bhāgavata scriptures are never weary of repeating that the true believer must be an *ekāntin*, a believer in one and only one. Some Christian theologians distinguish between two kinds of worship—*latria*, or supreme worship, due to God alone, and *dulia*, the secondary veneration paid to angels and saints as the servants and special friends of God—but this discrimination is not the peculiar property of the Christian Church or of any branch of it. It was familiar to Plato, and it is maintained by the Bhāgavatas. They worship, it is true, this or that local deity, this or that spirit of disease, the sun, or Brahmā, or Shiva, but they recognize that this is *dulia*, not *latria*, and it is to them a commonplace that there is the greatest conceivable difference between the all-embracing, primary, Adorable, and even Brahmā, the greatest of His creatures.

This brings us back to the representation of Hinduism as a mixture of polytheism and fetishism, to which I referred at the beginning of this paper. I admit the superficial correctness of the picture, but no picture, unless drawn by a great artist, can do more than represent the

surface of what it portrays. The touch of the master hand is wanting here. The polytheism and the fetishism exist. No one can recognize their existence more clearly than I do myself. They form a part of Hinduism, but not of the Hindu religion. They are the cloud which covers that religion, and which hides it from the superficial or unfriendly inquirer. Even the unlearned Hindus keep this cover on a different plane of thought. Over and over again, by the camp-fire on an Indian cold-weather night, have I discussed this with the village fathers. To them the Hindu *religion* has to do with the ultimate future life alone—with what we should call salvation. That is monotheism. On the other hand, the polytheism and the fetishism serve only for the daily needs of the material world. The objects of such worship may provide food, they may protect from sickness and other ills, they may even make life more happy in some future birth, but they cannot give that "release" for which their follower longs. That is given, and the craving which every human soul feels for communion with a personal God is satisfied by *bhakti*, by devotional faith in the Adorable alone. In a country where, as in India, the majority of the people are poor and ignorant, the material often overshadows the spiritual; but the very poorest recognizes—even if he thinks them too high for him—the truth of the doctrines concerning the One Supreme that have descended to him from the Bhāgavatas.

**NOTE.**—The above is a complete report of a paper read at the Third International Congress of the History of Religions, held at Oxford in September, 1908, only an abstract of which was published in the Proceedings of the Congress.—ED.

## THE ANCIENT CHINESE BOWL IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

By E. H. PARKER.

DURING the summer of 1908, whilst I was wandering through the much-neglected Oriental Gallery ("Cross Gallery," Baedeker's "Guide to London," 1908 edition), my attention was attracted in Room XIX. by a large bronze bowl, "purchased in 1874 from Dr. S. W. Bushell for £80." I had already casually read the account of this remarkable bowl given in Dr. Bushell's recently published work upon "Chinese Art" (Wyman and Sons, 1904); but, knowing nothing of either art or "curios," and taking but little interest in the latter merely as such, I had simply made mental note of the fact that a similar bowl was stated by Dr. Bushell to be preserved in the collection of a Chinese family at Yang Chou, near Chinkiang, this last being a place all travellers up the Yangtsze must pass, and now also accessible by railway from Shanghai. As, however, I was just at the moment carrying to the publisher the final proofs of a work\* which described in detail the identical events recorded in the inscription at the bottom of the bowl, I was impressed with the thought that first-hand evidence of this kind, some 2,500 years old, might be of the highest importance in confirming the standard histories of China as they have come down to us, after innumerable vicissitudes, with all those doubts and imperfections inseparable from changes in the form of written character, fires, wars, and political vandalisms. In the dim light of the Oriental Gallery it was impossible when I was there to get a good view of the inscription inside the bowl, even if there had been any

\* "Ancient China Simplified," Chapman and Hall, 1908. This book incidentally mentions, in one place or the other, not only most of the circumstances and proper names alluded to by the inscription now under review, but also explains the origin of the peculiar script, and the nature of bronze documents.

attendant at hand with authority to open the glass case for me on a Sunday afternoon. Moreover, the inscription was couched in a character which, though simplified in 827 B.C. from a still older form, and decipherable enough at full leisure with the aid of the oldest native dictionaries, has itself been obsolete for well over 2,000 years; and the ravages of time, besides, had worn many of the strokes away.

Under these intriguing circumstances I wrote to the late Dr. S. W. Bushell, then residing at Harrow-on-the-Hill, to inquire of him how it came to pass that he had been able to acquire so cheaply a priceless treasure of this kind, and whether he could oblige me with a transcription of the clear modernized Chinese character from which, presumably, his published translation had been made.\* I asked him all this because his own work (vol. i., p. 84) says that the decipherment must be accepted with caution, and because, as he states, the inscription is not found in any Chinese catalogue. Mrs. Bushell wrote in reply to say that her husband was ill in bed, but would doubtless supply, after his recovery, the information desired. Meanwhile, as letters had been appearing in the *Times* about the defective arrangement of the Oriental collection, I wrote to call the attention of the public to this extraordinarily valuable bowl, which, I suggested, was worth nearer £8,000† than £80. This letter appears in the issue of August 31, 1908. It never occurred to me for one instant that the bowl might be a spurious manufacture of later times; for, though ignorant myself, as I have stated, in the first place I remembered Dr. Bushell's talking freely and triumphantly about his purchase when I was a student at the Peking Legation, in 1870;

\* For reproductions of the bowl and the inscription, for translation, and for account of Prince I's collection whence the bowl was obtained, see Bushell's "Chinese Art," pp. 82-85.

† Writing to me about the bowl on April 20 last, Professor T. L. Bullock, of Oxford, whose attention had previously been attracted quite as casually as my own to Dr. Bushell's description, says: "I had said £10,000 as value, after reading the description, before I saw your estimate."

and, in the second place, his reputation as an art connoisseur in Chinese objects has long been unique, and, it might almost be said, world-wide. It may be added that, though he was not a professed sinologist himself, no student of Chinese generally, apart from matters of art, has ever been more scrupulously careful, more judicious, or made fewer mistakes than Dr. Bushell, and few have done more for the solid advancement of Chinese historical studies than he has. Unfortunately, he never rose from his sick couch to answer my queries in person, and consequently I never received from him the expected details, nor had he left any notes on the subject behind. His widow, however, informed me that he had himself paid for the bowl a great deal more than the £80 for which the Museum had purchased it from him in 1874,\* and she has since kindly lent me the yellow imperial silk swathe, bearing a Manchu seal, which originally lined the packing-case, and which at least, therefore, goes some way towards proving that the bowl was an imperial gift, and was believed by some Manchu Emperor of China himself to be a genuine object of value. I hope to ascertain before long which Emperor this was.

Having thus failed in one direction, I wrote to the Museum authorities, suggesting that a large and clear photograph should be taken of the inscription inside the bowl, and that copies of this inscription should be forwarded to five persons named by me as being competent and likely to render assistance in the matter. I explained to them that I proposed to compare their decipherments with my own, and then to provide the Museum with a transcription in modern character, which, together with the photograph

\* My respectful appreciation of the late Dr. Bushell's "place in sinology" is fully submitted on p. vi (Preface) of "China: Her History, Diplomacy, etc." (John Murray, 1901), where his name is coupled with that of the late Dr. Bretschneider. Both distinguished physicians wrote to me in cordial terms to express satisfaction with these remarks, and (lest it be thought by anyone that they were not generous enough) I may add that both explicitly accepted the place I had ventured to assign to them.

in ancient character, might be hung up alongside the bowl, so that he of the public who ran might learn, and so that the whole world might have an opportunity, as occasion offered, to appraise at its true value this remarkable and priceless relic of antiquity. Of the five persons to whom the Museum authorities obligingly sent copies, four have, up to this moment, been prevented by illness, absence from home, or other good cause from rendering the desired aid; but Professor Edouard Chavannes, of Paris, whom I had placed at the head of the list for competency, and who was, in fact, just then returning from an "art" visit to China, wrote to me after some delay to say, to my infinite surprise, that he considered the bowl to be *un faux*, and that the time occupied in making a transcription would be *mal employé*. He expressed the opinion, however, that Dr. Bushell's own translation was *très-suffisante* for so doubtful a document, and at the same time called my attention to a *compte-rendu* published by himself, and to another by his colleague M. Pelliot, both dating back so far as 1905, and both demonstrating—to the satisfaction at least of the writers—that the *monument* was *pas authentique* and *suspect*. I at once wrote to several persons in Paris in order to purchase or to borrow for a day copies of the two journals indicated; but they were not to be bought, and the copies possessed by MM. Henri Cordier, A. Vissière, etc., were, like those of M. Chavannes himself, bound up in bulky volumes, dangerous to trust to the French post in those "striky" days. At last, however, both M. Chavannes and M. Vissière (who accepted the views of M. Chavannes) were so obliging as to copy out for me themselves the two original articles mentioned criticizing Dr. Bushell's bowl. M. Pelliot, I was informed by M. Cordier, had been wandering about Asia for two years, and was now in China. In matters of Chinese epigraphy his opinion is, of course, of as high a value as mine is worthless. All I profess is to be able to decipher most ancient texts when I see them.

But, in a matter of this kind, it appears to me that a thorough knowledge of specific facts under review, and a judicial decision upon those facts, is of greater importance than the possession of multitudinous tomes which a lifetime will not suffice to read; and that, when doubts concerning the genuineness of any document are raised, the only reasonable course is to trace the alleged facts contained in the document to their source, and find out, to begin with, if they are true. The first obvious thing, accordingly, is to obtain the clearest possible transcription into modern Chinese character of the ancient script, in order to see what the maker of the bowl purports to say, and (in this specific case) to see whether Dr. Bushell has correctly translated what the maker or author said. Secondly, Chinese contemporary history must be carefully ransacked in order to find out whether the facts thus stated, and thus presented clearly to the public eye, can be confirmed from standard historical sources. Then the obsolete characters must be closely scrutinized one by one in order to see if they correspond with the obsolete forms given alongside the (then) modern forms published in the earliest native dictionary (A.D. 200), and with the obsolete forms and variants given in other ancient inscriptions. We must consider whether the phraseology is genuinely antique, or whether there are any suspicious signs of modern tinkering either in tracing an ill-understood ancient line or curve, or in the metal moulding of such. Then we have to find out why the Prince of I sold his valuable collection of antiques in 1870; whether anyone else is known to have purchased; and, particularly, why the princely family sold this specific bowl to Dr. Bushell; whence the original princely owner got it himself; how long it had been in the family; which Emperor gave it, and under what circumstances, to which princely ancestor; how the Manchus got possession of the bowl at all; if dynasty after dynasty at Peking swept it off with the rest of the plunder taken from the sacked palaces, and so on.

All this is being done, already with some success, and I hope before many weeks shall have elapsed to obtain the best possible information from the most exalted personages upon each of these important points.

But the critical view taken by my respected French colleagues is quite a different one; it is different in the same degree that the French judicial system is different from that in vogue in Great Britain, where no magistrate ever first assumes a prisoner's guilt, and then proceeds by putting leading questions and making airy assumptions to try and wring out confessions of that presumed guilt. First of all, then, MM. Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière assume that the bowl must be spurious because no Chinese antiquarian catalogue makes any mention\* of it. Being thus presumed spurious, it is not held to be worth a special retranscription and retranslation. Moreover, taking as he does, the prudent and cautious Dr. Bushell's admittedly makeshift translation at its full value, without himself studying the original, M. Chavannes calls attention (1) to certain blunders made by Chinese historians (hundreds of years later than the supposed date of the bowl) in alluding to the facts mentioned in the bowl inscription, and (2) to M. Chavannes' own published attempts to account for these blunders, which blunders (he thinks) may have caused the "faker" of the bowl to copy them on to the bowl (which, however, is not the case; there are, as will shortly be seen, *no* blunders in the bowl inscription). On the other hand, M. Pelliot's exact words are: "Il pourrait se faire qu'on fût en présence d'un pseudo-antique, fait hier peut-être, peut-être aussi il y a quelque siècles; ou encore le bronze peut remonter aux Tcheou (*i.e.*, to the later or restoration Chou dynasty, time about 600 B.C.) et l'inscrip-

\* M. Chavannes forgets that, on p. 544, vol. ii., of his "Mémoires Historiques," he accepts a document dated 770 B.C. (a document, too, in which one of the personages named in Dr. Bushell's bowl is mentioned), notwithstanding that "je n'ai pu cependant la trouver dans aucun des ouvrages épigraphiques chinois que j'ai eus à ma disposition."

tion avoir été ajoutée ultérieurement. M. Bushell n'émet pas le moindre doute sur l'authenticité du vase ; j'hésiterais davantage pour des raisons qui ne sont pas décisives, mais qui ont cependant quelque poids. Le bronze a été acquis en 1870 à Pékin, et provient de la collection des princes de Yi (*i.e.*, I), jadis assez connue et aujourd'hui entièrement dispersée. Or, on sait avec quel soin les inscriptions des vases anciens ont été recueillies, déchiffrées, commentées par les archéologues chinois. Celle-ci est d'une longueur tout-à-fait inusité, et n'en eût dû susciter qu'une curiosité plus ardente. D'autre part, une pièce figurant dans les collections des princes de Yi n'a pu être ignorée des antiquaires de Pékin. Aucun d'eux cependant ne semble avoir fait place dans son recueil archéologique au bronze étudié par M. Bushell. Il paraît bien en résulter qu'ils ont tenu, soit la pièce entière, soit au moins l'inscription, pour apocryphe, et les sinologues européens, dont aucun ne peut lutter sur ce domaine avec les savants chinois, ne devront pas se prononcer en faveur de l'authenticité avant qu'il ait été procédé à un sérieux examen." This serious examination I propose to make in the way hereinafter stated.

M. Chavanne's own critical remarks, on the other hand, run as follows (*T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 120, 121) : "Les érudits indigènes ont entièrement fait défaut à M. Bushell lorsqu'il a du expliquer la longue inscription gravée au fond d'un superbe bassin de bronze que possède le Kensington Museum ; il y a lieu cependant de s'étonner que, puisque ce monument n'est parvenu en Angleterre qu'en 1870, aucun savant chinois ne l'ait catalogué et étudié ; la chose est d'autant plus surprenante que, si cette inscription était authentique, elle apporterait de précieux renseignements sur un événement important que ne nous est raconté que fort brièvement dans le *Tso-tchouan* (28<sup>e</sup> année du duc Hi [632 B.C.]) et dans *Sseu-ma Ts'ien* (trad. fr., t. iv., p. 303) à la date de 632 av. J.C. Bien plus, il y a désaccord précisément sur ce point entre le

*Chou King* (chap. *Wén-heou tche ming*) et Sseu-ma Ts'ien, le *Chou King* rapportant au temps du Marquis *Wén* (780-746) un discours\* que *Sseu-ma Ts'ien* attribue à l'époque du duc *Wén* (636-628); M. Bushell, qui s'est fondé uniquement sur le *Chou King*, estime que l'inscription a dû être faite en l'honneur du duc *Wén* (636-628), et que le duc *Wén*, dont il est parlé dans l'inscription comme un ancêtre du duc régnant, n'est autre que le Marquis *Wén* (780-746); cependant cette opinion n'est guère soutenable, car, d'une part, l'ancêtre du duc régnant est nommé dans l'inscription 'le duc,' et non 'le marquis' *Wén*, et d'autre part, les termes dans lesquels l'inscription rappelle les présents qui furent faits par le roi à cet ancêtre du duc régnant coïncident en partie avec ceux dont se servent le *Tso tchouan* (Legge, l.c., vol. v., p. 210-211) et Sseu-ma Ts'ien (trad. fr., t. iv., p. 303) lorsqu'ils exposent les faveurs que le roi accorda au duc *Wén* en 632. Il est donc évident† que le duc *Wén* (636-628) est l'ancêtre du duc régnant; et que le bassin de bronze ne peut être attribué qu'à un successeur de ce prince; mais alors on ne voit plus qui pourrait bien être ce successeur, car c'est précisément le duc *Wén* (636-628), et non un autre, qui reçut le titre d'hégémon auquel fait allusion l'inscription. La confusion entre le marquis *Wén* et le duc *Wén* paraît

\* M. Chavannes' note upon this subject, p. 303, vol. iv., of his "Mémoires Historiques," is only a partial translation of a Chinese critic's note, and ignores the fact that a second and older Chinese critic supposes that *Wén Hou* and *Wén Kung* both had a "commission," couched in similar terms. It seems extremely probable that these *ming*, or commissions, were almost stereotyped in form, subject to the recital of special services.

† It is perfectly true that Dr. Bushell, in his explanatory paragraph on p. 87 of his work, has confused *Wén Hou* with *Wén Kung*, and that the successor, in whose honour the bowl was made, is not stated in standard history to have been made hegemon; but I hope to show later on that his services gave him as good a title to this rank as either of his two predecessors, named, and that probably he did actually receive it from the Emperor, who was at the time obliged to "trim" between two rival claimants, and had to avoid too much publicity.

être le fait de l'auteur de ce document épigraphique qui m'a tout l'air d'un faux."

I may remark here parenthetically that, apart from the general question of genuineness, as to which I shall have evidence of the most precise and searching description to submit, my respected colleague, M. Chavannes, is wrong when he states that the author of the bronze inscription makes confusion between two reigning Princes, though he is right when he states that Dr. Bushell has confused the two. The fact is the author of the bowl inscription distinctly mentions *both* previously reigning Princes, Wēn Hou and Wēn Kung, specifically and by name; but owing to Dr. Bushell's Chinese amanuensis having (either accidentally or otherwise) made a mistranslation, and omitted the important name of *Wēn-hou* altogether after the word *T'ang-shuh*, M. Chavannes has himself inadvertently fallen into a trap which now holds him fast as a vice, and destroys the validity of his whole argument; moreover, it proves that when he wrote the above critical remarks he could not possibly have studied the ancient text himself, or even a translation into more modern script of that ancient text. As I have often ventured to state with gratitude in my published works, M. Chavannes is now in many respects distinctly at the head of living sinologists, and (although I always submit to the test of original references every important statement he makes—at least when I can) there is no other sinologist in whose mere assertion I feel more absolute confidence. In this case, however, it certainly seems that he must be convicted (1) of not having studied originals, and (2) of having come to a decision affecting the late Dr. Bushell's sagacity, which is neither judicious nor judicial, and against which it is only fair that Dr. Bushell's memory should be defended.

Now we come to that exceedingly sound and enterprising sinologist, M. Vissière, who writes in May last, four years after M.M. Chavannes and Pelliot have expressed their opinions: "Je crois que Chavannes et Pelliot ont eu raison

de formuler des doutes sur l'authenticité du bassin de bronze dont vous me parlez. Comment admettre qu'une pièce aussi importante n'ait été signalée dans aucun ouvrage archéologique chinois, et que sa longue inscription n'ait été reproduite nulle part, si les *kin-shih-kia*—*i.e.*, ‘épigraphistes’—chinois la considèrent comme authentiques ? Chavannes a fait valoir des arguments de critique, qu'il appartient aux défenseurs de l'authenticité de réfuter, s'ils le peuvent.” At first, being, as I have already said, ignorant of Chinese art myself, I had never conceived of myself as being one competent either to arraign or defend so distinguished a specialist as Dr. Bushell; but in view of this unanimous and sustained attack on the part of my excellent French colleagues, I now find myself in the unexpected position of counsel for the defence. To begin with, I can only express my astonishment once more that the logical French mind—often disposed to carry logical arguments to extremes—should consider it necessary for persons who have the bowl before their eyes, together with a full account of how the bowl got there, to prove why it should *not* be a bogus bowl, simply because no maker of Chinese catalogues happens to have heard of it before; especially when the *arguments de critique* to be refuted are in fact refuted by the text of the bowl itself; and are, further, founded, to all appearances, on the awkward fact that the very maker of those *arguments de critique* has never read the inscription word for word, even in modern script, let alone puzzled out the ancient script for himself.

MM. Chavannes and Vissière have, however, both been kind enough to place the columns of the *T'oung-pao* at my disposal in order to facilitate the production of my proofs; it is evident, therefore, that they have every wish to be fair. I have now, with the aid of the oldest Chinese dictionary, not only deciphered, but proved the identity of about 500 words out of the 538 (or 550 if we take note of the fact that eleven are marked with the sign of reduplication). I have also, with the aid of such Chinese books as I possess, dis-

covered that almost every single phrase or compound word of the inscription belongs to a period anterior to 600 B.C.\* As the *T'oung-pao* has peculiar facilities for printing Chinese character, and as the subject is an extremely obscure and intricate one, even for native, not to say European, specialists, I confine myself here to indicating how I propose to proceed; to stating provisionally to the general reader that I am now most profoundly convinced that the bowl is absolutely genuine, and to suggesting that the South Kensington Museum is undoubtedly in possession of a monument of antiquity of the very highest original order, which, moreover, as a sample found in our own times at random, by its very genuineness serves as a keystone to the genuineness of ancient Chinese history in general.

In the first place, regarding the bowl from a merely mechanical and objective point of view, I may suggest that, apparently, none of the three distinguished French critics can indicate any feature in its construction that suggests tinkering or tampering. The quality and temper of the metal; the deep incision of the characters; the traces of stolen gold still remaining inside those incisions—all these points tend to show that the lines were once filled with gold, and that the best available art had been employed by someone in high authority and in possession of great wealth. My consular colleague, Mr. L. C. Hopkins, who, I am told, is no mean judge of Chinese bronzes, and who, I have long known myself, is one of the very few sinologists who has any searching knowledge of Chinese script and etymology in their genesis, informs me that about ten years ago he himself once induced the Museum authorities to take out the bowl from its case and to show it to him in the brightest light. Mr. Hopkins informs me that he feels

\* I have shown in "Ancient China Simplified" how, up to that date, the whole of Chinese literature (chiefly consisting of a "Bible" in five divisions) was universally committed to memory by the cultured classes; how unportable the ordinary wooden books were; and how all-important documents were consigned to stone or bronze.

absolutely sure of its genuineness. His Excellency Ts'ien Sün, Chinese Minister at Rome, who, moreover, knows M. Chavannes; to whom I had communicated the fact that M. Chavannes disbelieved in the bowl's genuineness; and who was himself at first mystified by the absence of all mention of it in Chinese catalogues, now writes to me, after receiving an enlarged photograph from the Museum authorities: "So far as I am able to decipher the few doubtful characters you send, I do so, and I herewith return your original paper, and transcribe what I suppose to be the modern forms alongside of your own writing. As this bowl has been preserved by a gentleman of such repute as Dr. Bushell, certainly it is an object of great value. In the palace of the Prince of I there used to be a considerable number of such valuable objects; and many years ago, when I was at Peking, I succeeded in buying several specimens myself."

Again, the learned Japanese graduate, Dr. Kuroita, who was kind enough to inspect the bowl for me in May last, and (with the obliging assistance of the Museum authorities) to copy out the ancient inscription with his own hand, writes to me as follows: "This bowl looks to me a very fine and well-preserved piece; its design shows the style of the later Chou dynasty. . . . I cannot tell you why it is not mentioned in the [mentioning certain Chinese catalogues enumerated by Dr. Bushell]; but you will allow me to say that there are many pieces of fine ancient bronzes not yet mentioned, such as those in the Treasury of Mukden, which were photographed and rubbed by Japanese archæologists or Dr. Chavannes from France. . . . Do you not think that this bowl, belonging formerly to Prince I, had been one of the Treasury, or some other royal collection?" A few days later Dr. Kuroita writes again: "When I was investigating the bowl once more in the South Kensington Museum a few days ago, I found there an ancient bell which contains some inscription [giving it in full, both in ancient and modern character]. It was a Chou bell that the author of

the "Kin-shih Soh," I remember, could not find in his own country; he published the inscription as taken from a rubbed paper. . . . The keeper was so much pleased to have this very interesting bell."

I am quite unaware whether Dr. Kuroita personally knows M. Chavannes; but here we have him spontaneously refuting all M. Chavannes' conjectures, and, moreover, himself discovering for the first time, to the joy of the "keeper" (I may mention that Dr. Kuroita, with true Japanese modesty, takes the precaution to apologize for anything unusual in his English writing), that South Kensington not only possesses Dr. Bushell's priceless bowl of the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) which no catalogue mentions at all, but also a Chou bell of possibly even older date, a rubbing of which is mentioned in the "Kin-shih Soh" catalogue (published A.D. 1822) so frequently cited by Dr. Bushell, but the whereabouts of which original bell was unknown to the "Kin-shih Soh" authors even a century ago. Finally, His Excellency Ts'ien Sün observes in a third letter to me, received as I write this: "The number of priceless objects inconsiderately carried off, bestowed [by Emperors], or presented [between friends] by persons ignorant of [the inscriptions on] them, is greater than I could possibly estimate; it would be absurd to suppose that this bowl is the only one; in fact, the 'Kin-shih' states as much with sorrow." Here we have, also spontaneously made, a second refutation of M. Chavannes' conjectures, coupled with a regretful remark which almost repeats Dr. Bushell's own regretful words printed upon p. 80 of his "Chinese Art." Having casually mentioned to M. Ts'ien Sün that I had written to the Nan-p'i statesman (H. E. Chang Chih-tung) in order to ascertain his views, His Excellency rejoins: "The Nan-p'i statesman Chang has a very considerable collection of inscriptions taken from stone and metal, but I am certain that he does not possess any copy of this particular one." When I receive replies from the various Peking personages whose services I have bespoken to sift

this matter thoroughly, I shall, of course, have more to say, and a full copy of the inscription, turned into modern character, will be published, as corrected by the best available Japanese and Chinese critics, together with proofs that nearly every single phrase and word employed in the inscription is taken from the oldest classics, and from them alone; that all the events alluded to are mentioned by Confucius himself (or by his contemporary annotators); that there are no mistakes, still less "fakes" in the text;\* and, in a word, that there is not the smallest reason for suspecting the genuineness of either the bowl itself or of its inscription; nor the smallest reason to suppose that the inscription was dishonestly added at a later date to the originally uninscribed metal.

Pending the preparation for the *T'oung Pao* of a word for word annotated translation of the whole inscription, I give its general purport as follows: Dr. Bushell's translation on p. 85 of his "Chinese Art," vol i. is correct so far as the first paragraph goes—that is to say, "During the first month of [an unnamed] year the Marquess of Tsin announced to the King [of China] his subjugation of the Tartars, and was received in audience." The second paragraph goes on to say that "the King invested him with nine symbols of high rank;" but here it must be remarked that deciphering authorities differ as to what these nine symbols really were, for the essential character

\* It may be useful to add here, for the information of those who have never studied the ancient Chinese character, that the relation it bears to the modern is nearly always a fixed one, though there were many local variants. It was precisely on account of these local variants that the "First Emperor," about 200 B.C., after annexing all the conflicting States to his own, and establishing a "perpetual dynasty," decided to equalize (1) weights and measures, (2) cart axles, and (3) written characters. When once we know what a doubtful ancient character is in *meaning*, it is easy enough to find its place alongside of its modern form; but in most cases we do not need even to know its meaning, because its obsolete shape, fragment by fragment, stroke by stroke, has (usually) a perfectly regular relation to the modern shape, though at first sight the old and the new may seem totally unrelated.

is illegible and must await further identification by the highest of native Peking specialists. The King proceeds to recall to the Marquess's recollection the doughty deeds of his (the King's) own four royal ancestors, the founders of the Chou dynasty ; but there are several characters in this long paragraph which have not yet been properly deciphered. Still, whatever the exact translations may ultimately turn out to be, the general sense as given by Dr. Bushell is assured, and in any case no capital point in historical accuracy is concerned. The third paragraph of Dr. Bushell's translation refers to the reign of five successive Kings [or Emperors] extending over the degenerate period 878 to 697 B.C., and to the establishment in China of the Protectorate—*i.e.* of an arrangement unknown to previous history, under which the most powerful for the time being of the federated Chinese Princes summoned meetings of his peers as a sort of Lieutenant of the Emperor ; pretended at the same time to protect the royal or imperial rights ; and, in a word, affecting a loyalty he did not feel, conducted the political affairs of China, as it were, in the Emperor's name, but always with an eye to his own interests. The second of these Protectors, or "Hegemons" as M. Chavannes calls them, was Wēn Kung, or the Duke Wēn\* of Tsin (corresponding to South Shan Si province), who went so far as to summon his kinsman, the Emperor, to one of these durbars, and to deprive him of a large tract of territory : the names of six towns thus ceded in 632 B.C. are given on the bowl. This important paragraph positively "reeks" with passages which can be justified and corroborated by standard history ; even the doubtful points—such, for instance, as the names of the six towns ceded—are important, as confirming and throwing extra light upon the corresponding obscure points in that standard history. After having cited at length the services to China of Wēn

\* His career is fully described in "Ancient China Simplified." See also "Tartars and Chinese before the Time of Confucius," in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1907.

Kung—who is no other than the striking personality so well known to every Chinese schoolboy as Ch'ung-êrh, or “Double Ears”—the King goes on in the next short paragraph to proffer excuse for his apparent incapacity to protect federated China himself, and proceeds to lay all the blamé for this on the Tartar marauders. In none of the above further paragraphs does Dr. Bushell's translation need much correction. But in the next two paragraphs, where the King (who had in reality been bullied once more by his vassal kinsman—this descendant of Wên Kung whom he was addressing) confers what seems to be yet another protectorship upon his relative and “benefactor,” there are many points requiring prolonged and careful scrutiny, and Dr. Bushell's translation will perhaps need some emendation. More especially, it may turn out that the supposed “protectorship” conferred, which is not expressed in the usual historical terms, may not be a true protectorship in the older sense at all.

It is in the final paragraph of his translation that Dr. Bushell, evidently misled by the expression *sien wén-jen*, or “late accomplished persons,” repeatedly used by the King in the preceding exordium to indicate his vassal's predecessors, makes his one great mistake, by omitting the name of Wên Hou, the ruler of the Tsin principality from 781 to 746 B.C. M. Chavannes, who unfortunately jumped to the conclusion that *pour un monument aussi suspect la traduction de Bushell est suffisante*, not only unwittingly accepts Dr. Bushell's mistake, but makes his own (M. Chavannes') adopted mistake a basis on which to found the utterly untenable theory that the bowl must be a forgery, because the clumsy forger has copied the supposed mistakes of certain historians who lived many centuries after the events recorded in that bowl, and after the making of that bowl. The fact is, three rulers of the Tsin principality—Wên Hou, Wên Kung, and the subject of the present exordium (probably King Kung)—had the honour at three different times of replacing three different

Kings or Emperors of China upon the Throne in 770, 632, and 590 B.C., and all three of them seem to have received *ming*, or solemnly recorded commissions carved into bronze\* for their services. Dr. Bushell's translation of the erroneous passage runs ; "The Prince of Chin (i.e., Tsin), having returned to his home, after his subjugation of the Jung (Tartars), offered solemn sacrifice at the shrine of his ancestor, the accomplished Prince T'ang Shu." What he ought to have said was that after his return he "announced his achievements to T'ang Shuh (the first feoffee kinsman of the King or Emperor, in 1106 B.C.), and to W'en Hou (the ruler who escorted far away east to a new capital and resettled the fugitive King in 770).

I will now give what I suppose to be the true account of the whole transaction. In the years 603 and 602 B.C. the Red Tartars made an attack upon the state of Tsin (the rulers of which, including W'en Kung, though belonging to the same Chinese family as the Emperor, were themselves of Tartar descent on the female side); but in 601 the White Tartars made peace with Tsin. In 598 the Tsin armies or envoys enter Tartar land in order to arrange matters, and this proceeding is considered so undignified that even the semi-barbarian kingdom of Ts'u (corresponding to modern Hu Pêh province, and ruled by a Chinese caste of very ancient stock) stands up for Chinese dignity, and thus makes good her footing as a blossoming orthodox Chinese state, with claims to exercise the hegemony, or protectorate over the Chinese federation. That year the Red Tartars make war upon the other Tartars, who ally themselves with Tsin. In 594 the Red Tartars of the Lu settlement or family (still called Lu-ngan Fu, in South-East Shan Si,) were crushed by Tsin, and the Tsin ruler's sister, who was married to the Tartar

\* Even now, documents intended to last are called "iron bonds," and the phrase is colloquial for "unshakable words." The chief "iron bond" known to the public is that one hung up in the palace for the information of the eunuchs, laying down their rules of conduct.

"Viscount," was murdered by the Tartar "Premier." In consequence of this Tsin crushes the Red Tartars once more, and extinguishes the Tartar state of Lu, just mentioned. Tsin sends envoys to present Tartar prisoners to the King (or Emperor) of China. In 593 Tsin annihilates two other petty neighbouring states of the Red Tartars, and in the third month the ruler again offers prisoners to the Emperor and obtains an audience.\*

Now, in 610 B.C. the Emperor's own troops had taken advantage of the Tartars' carousing to inflict a defeat upon them. In 590 the said Tartars took steps to avenge this disgrace, and the Emperor had to apply to his kinsman of the neighbouring Tsin state to his immediate north for assistance, in consequence of which Tsin in that year "subdues the Tartars" (*p'ing-jung*—the exact words used in Dr. Bushell's inscription) "for the King." But unfortunately the royal (or imperial) statesmen meanly take advantage of this to make a second treacherous attack upon their defeated Tartar foe, who in turn gives the imperial troops a well-deserved thrashing.† In 588 Tsin once more defeated the scattered remains of the Red Tartars. All this took place during the reign of the Tsin Marquess, posthumously known as the Duke‡ King (599-581), and during the reigns of the Chinese King (or Emperor) Ting (606-586). During all this time Tsin was

\* It must be here stated that nearly all these important details are omitted by Sz-ma Ts'ien (100 B.C.), and, consequently, M. Chavannes does not allude to them in his admirable "*Mémoires Historiques*." There seems good reason to believe that, although M. Chavannes translates some of the Chinese commentators' references to the three Confucian commentaries, he has not yet himself read them systematically through.

† It must here be explained that the three rival commentators on Confucius's history, say (1) the Tartars did it; (2) Tsin did it; (3) one account says Tsin did it, and the other the Tartars did it. However, the best of the three, known as Tso's Commentary, plumps for the Tartars, and gives proofs.

‡ It has been explained in "*Ancient China Simplified*" that all rulers (Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, and even commoners) were posthumously styled by the courtesy title of "Duke."

striving to retain the hegemony partly lost to its great rival Ts'u, and in the year 597 occur the words, "Better for us to perish than lose the hegemony." In reference to the year 600 it is distinctly stated by Sz-ma Ts'ien that Tsin "contests the hegemony with Ts'u," and in 598 Ts'u successfully performed a hegemonical act, which accordingly obtained for that State recognition in history as "one of the five successive hegemons." Hence we may provisionally conclude that the bowl was made by the Emperor Ting in recognition of the Marquess King's services.

But there is a possibility that the bowl may belong to the succeeding reigns, for in 579 Tsin inflicts a defeat upon the White Tartars. In reference to 575, even Sz-ma Ts'ien says distinctly that Tsin was making great efforts to re-exercise the hegemony. Again in 569 we find the well-known Tsin statesman Wei Kiang arranging frontier trade facilities with the Tartars, so as to take their minds off land hunger and concentrate their attention upon agriculture and trade. In 568 the Emperor complains to Tsin of the attitude of the Tartars. In 565 the Tsin ruler is stated in the notes to the Commentary of Tso to have quite recovered the position of his ancestors Wên Kung (635-628) and Siang Kung (627-621), and the "Kwoh Yü" (also supposed to have been written by Tso) says roundly that after Wei Kiang's successes "Tsin now first recovered the hegemony."

It is not proposed here to carry on the discussion of so intricate a subject further; an effort will be made in the *Toung Pao* to prove every point. The present paper is intended merely to suggest as follows:

1. Dr. Bushell's now celebrated bowl is perfectly genuine both in appearance and in historical fact.
2. No forger could possibly have supplied at a much later date than the date of the bowl 538 characters, almost each one of which discloses some antiqueness when compared with the same characters, already obsolete, given alongside of more modern characters in the earliest dictionary.

of A.D. 200, and not one of which shows signs of tampering or imitation. Moreover, as each specially difficult character is successively deciphered, by guess or otherwise, it can be proved to be a variant under rules fairly fixed.

3. The bowl is of the utmost importance in that it confirms, and is confirmed by, the Confucian history of about 500 B.C., as expounded by (1) Confucius's own pupil Tso, the supposed author of a second confirmatory work called the "Kwoh Yü," and (2) (3) by two other commentators about 200 and 100 B.C.

4. The bowl is a veritable keystone to antiquity.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received (through Father Hoang, who is himself ill in bed) from a graduate in China, bearing the very highest literary degree, a complete transcription in modern character of the 538 characters. I have also received a complete transcription (obtained from some source not disclosed to me) from Mr. Ivan Chén of the London Legation. These two transcriptions only leave about a dozen characters out of 538 in doubt, and these twelve are precisely the ones I cannot make out myself. The dozen in question are doubtless "variants," such as the imperious First Emperor "equalized" about 200 B.C., along with the cart-axles, weights, and measures.

P.P.S.—Since correcting the above proof, I learn that the Manchu Viceroy Twansfang, of Nanking, has the matter in hand, not to mention even greater personages.

## THE OPIUM QUESTION.

By MAJOR J. F. A. McNAIR, C.M.G., R.A.

WE have upon our table two of the most valuable and the most recent documents on this subject, viz.: (1) The proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into matters relating to the use of Opium in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, dated September 21, 1908; (2) The resolutions adopted by the International Opium Commission, whose labours have only just been completed at Shanghai in China.

The general conclusions arrived at by the former Commission were briefly that the smoking of "chandu," or prepared opium, was the least deleterious method of using opium, and that the evils resulting from the use of opium were not, and indeed have not been, sufficiently striking as to call for particular investigation on their part; and in view of their wide experience of circumstances in hospitals, some of them free, they consider this fact as very significant. The Commission further states that after carefully reviewing the evidence before it, and paying the most careful attention to the statements of representatives of the local anti-opium societies, and others holding strong views adverse to the use of opium, they have come to the conclusion that the evils arising from the local form of indulgence in opium are not sufficiently acute or wide-spread, as to justify legislative interference by way of prohibition; and they are further of opinion that the local state of feeling on the opium question has not yet reached the stage of rendering a policy of prohibition desirable or practicable. The Commissioners in adverting to the question of an International arrangement, state that although the sincerity of the Imperial Government of China in desiring to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy is not open to question, the actual enforcement of that suppression is

of paramount importance before the Straits Settlements can with any hope of success embark on a policy of prohibition.

The Commissioners further add that the conviction that has been brought home to them is that the alleged evils arising from the use of opium have been the subject of considerable exaggeration, and that such evils as exist affect only the very small percentage of smokers who indulge in it to excess.

They close their report by stating that there has been no increase in the prevalence of the habit during the past decade, but they consider that the circumstances surrounding the use of opium justify the Government in maintaining a closer and stricter control over it, and they recommend that the present system of farming the opium revenue be abolished, and that a Government monopoly of the preparation and distribution of "chandu" be substituted; and that improvement should be made in the arrangement of existing opium smoking-shops, but that there is no necessity for their abolition.

These general conclusions are signed by five out of the six Commissioners, the only dissentient being the Right Rev. Bishop Oldham, D.D., of New York, who states in his opinion that much of the evidence tends to show that when the drug is used there is a tendency to minister to the habit daily, and that whether the dose be large or small, unfitness for the daily task is the penalty of omitting it; and that moderation in opium smoking does not exist. Further, he adds, that both in restriction and ultimate prohibition, Government action should not be permitted to lag behind Chinese public opinion.

We must now turn our attention to the series of resolutions adopted by the International Opium Commission, which is the second document we have referred to.

Upon this Commission there were no fewer than thirteen different nations represented, and there were altogether nine resolutions agreed to, four out of the nine calling for

action on the part of one nation in behalf of the interests of another, and there was evinced by the whole of the members of the Commission a gratifying readiness to make local sacrifices for the universal good.

Each delegation was advised to urge its own Government to investigate scientifically for itself the matter of anti-opium remedies, and international co-operation was advocated to prevent the smuggling of opium into countries where a prohibitory law prevailed.

The American delegates declared that the United States had recognized the use of opium as an evil, for which no financial gain could compensate, and that she would not allow her citizens to encourage it, even passively. They referred with satisfaction to the declaration of Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, who had stated that there was no doubt that throughout the civilized world there was a feeling of disgust at the demoralizing effect of the opium habit in excess, and that it was a feeling in which he could not but share, and that he could not with any self-respect refuse to assist China on the ground of loss of revenue to India.

This International Commission closed its labours with thanks to the Right Rev. Bishop Brent, who had discharged the duties of President to the Commission with so much dignity and impartiality, while he in his closing speech referred to the sympathy that all the Commissioners had for China in the task she had undertaken, and that he was pleased to think that the gradual suppression of opium smoking had been advocated by all as a principle. He also added that, looking at the question in its moral aspect, he was sure that all the Commissioners did alike value "character" as the one indispensable possession of human life.

We regret that we have not been able to give more than this epitome of these remarkable and interesting documents, which, if studied carefully *in extenso*, will show to our readers how very diversified are the opinions of even experts on

this question. Some, it will be observed, are strongly against the use of opium for smoking purposes, while others, again, assert that the evils which exist only affect a very small percentage of smokers who indulge in it to excess. We ourselves are fully assured that there are many earnest-minded and good people in this country who at the very mention of an "opium den" are filled with disgust, and think all who approve of the smoking of opium are culpable in the highest degree.

We think that this extreme sensitiveness is in no small degree due to ignorance as to the growth and cultivation of the poppy plant, and of the beneficial effects it produces on the native races dwelling under an Eastern sun, who partake of it without injury to themselves or their families. Some, we know, are even led away by reading pamphlets adverse to the use of opium in any shape, and which are circulated by an anti-opium league.

It will be our endeavour here to supply some information on these points, but we may premise that it should be common knowledge amongst us, and is obtainable from almost every Encyclopædia.

Opium, then, is the milky juice which exudes from the capsules or heads of the plant known to botanists as the *Papaver somniferum*. It is grown from seeds, and may be cultivated in most countries; but it is known to thrive best in India, Persia, Turkey, and some districts in China. The best is obtained in the valley of the Ganges, at Malwa and Patna; and of course this is everywhere the most prized, China preferring it to that of her own growth, and ready to pay for it over a third more in price.

After the milky juice or sap is scraped off the half-ripe poppy-head (previously scarified by an ingenious little instrument made up of three knives set like the teeth of a comb), it is put aside and kept for about a month, when it assumes a certain consistency; it is then kneaded into a well-mixed mass, and made up into cakes or balls, and packed in chests for the market. A chest contains about

140 pounds of opium, which at the auction held in Calcutta frequently realizes as much as £150, and may even sometimes fetch a higher price.

It is not this crude or dry opium which is smoked, but a preparation of it, known in India as "chāndul," but in the Straits Settlements as "chāndu." This chāndu is made into small balls about the size of a large pea, and the bowl of the opium pipe is so made as to afford a small hole only. On to this hole the little ball of chāndu is placed, and projects above the surface of the bowl. The smoker then holds the chāndu close to the flame of a little lamp, and it soon begins to burn and curl up, and the vapour off it is drawn up into the mouth of the smoker through the stem of the pipe. Sir William Moore, and others who have investigated the matter very closely, say that the active principle of opium is destroyed by the heat, and that very little of the narcotic element in it is inhaled.

We ourselves have smoked a pipe of this chāndu, and beyond a tendency to sleep did not feel any ill effects from it; but what smoking it to excess would be we cannot say, any more than we can say what the intemperate use of alcoholic drinks would mean.

Most medical authorities seem so far to agree that the smoking of opium has not an intoxicating effect, but rather is more or less a sedative, and that it tends to soothe and to assuage pain; while a large proportion assert that if taken in moderation it is rather beneficial than otherwise, and that there are reasons connected with the climate, disease, food products of the country, manner of life, habits and customs, which render it much less harmful to society than is the abuse of alcohol.

We have ourselves seen Sikhs, Rajputs, and Mahrattas who have been opium smokers for years, and were still men of magnificent physique, with a firm belief in themselves, and who when in a campaign were absolutely fearless, and in the hour of danger showed themselves to be exceptionally good soldiers.

There are, however, on the other hand, medical men of great eminence in their profession who are not merely opposed to opium smoking, but even to the use of tobacco, and we quite think with them that all stimulants, or anything which may cause undue excitement, is better avoided, and certainly none should be taken to excess. But may not, we ask, the same be said of any good gift of Nature if indulged in beyond due moderation?

Some years ago we were personally acquainted with two medical men who had long resided in the East, and we think that their testimony on the subject of opium smoking is worth recording.

Dr. Mouatt, who was for some years Inspector-General of Gaols in Bengal, wrote in the year 1903 that in 56,392 of dispensary patients in Bengal, there was not one single case of disease or death attributed to the use or abuse of opium, and yet there were not a few of them habitual consumers. Also that in the Province of Bengal, during a period of six years, there were 302,374 persons sentenced to gaol, of whom 6,717 died, but not a single case of disease or death was attributable to the use of opium.

Dr. Oxley again, a physician and eminent naturalist, and who had had a larger experience than any man in the Straits Settlements, and in whose time there was the highest rate of the consumption of the opium drug, wrote, that the inordinate use or abuse of it most decidedly did bring on early decrepitude, loss of appetite, and a morbid state of the secretions; but that he had seen a man who had used the drug for fifty years in moderation without any evil effects, and one man he had seen in Malacca who had smoked it for upwards of eighty years. Several in the constant habit of smoking it assured me, he said, that if taken in moderation it neither impaired their functions nor shortened their lives; at the same time they fully admitted that it had deleterious effects if taken in too large a quantity.

We were also personally acquainted with the late Mr.

John Crawfurd, F.R.S., who had been for some time in the Straits Settlements, and who, it may be remembered, published in 1856 a "Dictionary of the Indian Islands and their Adjacent Countries." He was a man of high reputation in the scientific world, and wrote about opium as follows : "It is largely consumed in the Malayan Islands, in China, in the Indo-Chinese countries, and in a few parts of Hindustān, much in the same way in which ardent spirits, malt liquors, and cider are consumed in Europe. Its deleterious character has been much insisted on, but generally by parties who have had no experience of its effects. Like any other narcotic or stimulant the habitual use of it is amenable to abuse, and as being more seductive than other stimulants, perhaps more so ; but this is the utmost that can be safely charged to it. Thousands consume it without any pernicious result, as thousands do wine and spirits without any evil consequence. I know of no person of long experience and competent judgment who has not come to this common-sense conclusion."

We may also here quote from the report of Mr. Donald Spence, for some time H.M. Consul in Tchang in China. He wrote in 1881 that he had visited the capital of See-Chuan, and had noticed the enormous extent to which the poppy was being cultivated, so that he described whole districts as being one vast poppy field ; but he added that he found the people stout, able-bodied men, better housed, clad and fed, and healthier-looking than the Chinese of the Lower Yang-tsze.

To return to India, we find the opium agent at Behar in Bengal, writing in connection with this subject, that people should consider how the consumers of opium are placed who dwell in the malarious alluvial tracts which form a great proportion of the area of those provinces. "The use of opium by these people," he wrote, "was not so much a *vice* as a *necessity*. Their vegetable diet would not keep them alive without stimulants, and he doubted whether it would be for their benefit to stop their opium,

and drive them to the use of 'ganja,' or hemp, or to spirits." He added that there was no equally efficient febrifuge within the reach of the people.

The late Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., a man of wide experience, is reported to have said that in order to counteract the exceedingly mischievous tendencies of the doctrines of the Anti-Opium Society, it was necessary to prove to the people of England in an easy and simple manner that the attacks made on opium were both false and foolish. That opium smoked or drunk in a reasonable manner and not to excess was not more dangerous than tea or tobacco.

Sir George Birdwood, another important authority, was equally in favour of the moderate consumption of opium, and he said that during his long residence in India he had never once met with a single native suffering, or who had ever suffered, from what is called the excessive use of opium.

Sir Joseph Fayerer, M.D., F.R.S., again, also personally known to us, and who was well acquainted with the peoples of India and China, wrote as follows:

"I am aware that it is most strenuously urged by a large and influential and thoroughly conscientious party, that the use of opium either by eating or smoking is attended with the most pernicious results, causing sooner or later demoralization and destruction alike of body and mind. They seem to be of opinion that the degraded condition of the *habitués* of opium eating or smoking whether in India or China represented the natural and, one might almost say, the inevitable results of the use of opium."

" Ideally, one would wish that stimulants and narcotics such as alcohol, hemp, opium, tobacco, chloral, and sundry others of recent invention had no existence, but unfortunately human nature is so constituted that it will not forgo the use of these drugs, each and all of which is liable to be abused; and when so abused produces the most degrading and pernicious effects upon the human race."

"In India, over large areas of country, by tens of thousands of people opium is used in moderation, and they have a thorough belief in its efficiency to protect them against malarious diseases. I know that many say that the tendency of opium eating is ever to increase, but I do not believe this. Control and limit the abuse of opium if you will, but to interfere with and suppress it altogether seems to me unjustifiable. I know no reason why opium should be interfered with and alcohol be exempt. The evils of the one are far inferior to the evils of the other, and the moderate use of both should be left to the discretion of those who want them."

Major McNair, who was long resident in the Malayan Peninsula, wrote in his work, "Perak and the Malays," published in 1878 : "For opium smoking the Malay is indebted to the nations farther East. It is not greatly practised by the poorer Malays, but it is a luxury too frequently indulged in by the chiefs to the great detriment often to their health and mental vigour. This, of course, is from the excessive use of it, for there are authorities of great experience who tell of the practice of smoking opium being carried to an extreme old age without deleterious effects."

"We shall now conclude by referring our readers to a paper which appeared in the pages of this journal some years ago\* in reference to the opium question from a "Chinese official standpoint."

"The Chinese Government, as matters now stand, cannot suppress the growth of opium even if it would do so, for a certain percentage, officially admitted at 1 per cent., but now growing near to 5 per cent., have always smoked opium in China. Further, there has not been any deterioration in the mind or body of those few millions in our numerous population who use it.

"Just as the far more harmful spirits do not in one or two generations destroy Scotchmen or Europeans generally,

\* October, 1894, p. 269.

but at once destroy Red Indians, so is opium innocuous, except in cases of abuse, with the civilized Chinese, but fatal to savage 'Kacheens.' In the meanwhile, many more Oriental races are being destroyed by European drinks, the export of which even to Africa is not stopped by the British Government. The photographs in circulation of consumptive or other diseased persons who happen to take opium are not truthful representations of the effect of opium generally. Opium in China is not harmful if its smoker can get the sleep that is required after its use. An opium smoker does no harm to others, and therefore it is, they say, unsuitable to Europeans. The opium smoker rises from his sleep fit for work or for thought ; he feels no loss of self-respect, and he respects others."

In bringing this paper to a close, we think that from all the evidence we have been able to adduce, our readers will have no difficulty in forming their opinion that it is no more harmful to smoke opium in moderation than it is to take tobacco within due limits, or to use wine and spirits within reasonable bounds. It is the excess that is to be dreaded in either case.

We think also that it has been made quite clear that so long as there is a demand in China for opium, the poppy will be grown there, or imported from India or elsewhere. To prohibit, therefore, its cultivation in British India would, it appears to us, do little more than stimulate its cultivation in China.

So long as there is a demand for the drug there will be a supply, and the Native States of India, Persia, and Turkey will rise to the occasion, and it is only when the demand for it ceases, that according to the inevitable law the supply will also cease. We say nothing about smuggling, which is sure to go on with a drug that occupies so small a compass.

Whatever adverse views, however, may still be entertained as to its use, it is satisfactory to know that there is in this country a growing recognition that opium-smoking

is not the unmixed evil that years ago it was represented to be by a certain section of our people.

The object of this paper has been to put plainly forward, and in as impartial a manner as possible, the testimony of many competent authorities on a question which is now occupying the earnest attention of the public, and which, moreover, is likely to cause considerable interest for many years to come both at home and abroad.

It is interesting to note that according to Mr. Hobhouse in the House of Commons on May 19, 1909, the opium exports from India were—

1905	...	...	...	63,053	chests.
1906	...	...	...	65,617	"
1907	...	...	...	63,415	"
1908	...	...	...	62,408	"

In 1909 the export will be limited to 56,800 chests, and this is being reduced annually by 5,100 chests.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, March 22, 1909, a paper was read by R. F. Chisholm, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., on "Indian Industrial Development," the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (President), in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: General Sir Harry Prendergast, G.C.B., V.C.; Sir James Digges La Touche, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. L. Moore, Mrs. Ryan, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. H. W. Arathoon, Mr. H. G. L. Davidson, Mr. N. Dwarkadas, Colonel A. T. Fraser, Miss Massey, Mrs. Presgrave, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. N. N. Ghatak, Mr. D. D. Keller, Mr. A. P. Mehta, Mr. F. W. Emery, Mr. C. Clement Davies, Mr. F. Fletcher, Mr. M. Dué, Miss Beck, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. K. N. Ray, Mr. S. H. Freemantle, Mr. B. L. Rice, Mrs. Annie A. Smith, Mr. K. S. Pantulu, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. P. G. Khumbata, Mr. Jehangier B. Patel, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing to you to-night Mr. Chisholm, who was connected for twenty-four years with the Government of Madras, and for twenty years with the State of Baroda. I am quite sure you will all be very pleased to hear the interesting lecture which I will now ask Mr. Chisholm to deliver.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I need not say that I have listened to this paper with the utmost attention, and I may say that on the whole I agree with what Mr. Chisholm has told us. Before, however, entering upon the subject of the paper, I cannot forget that this is the first occasion on which I have been present since we have lost our late Chairman of Council, Sir Lepel Griffin, and I must, therefore, avail myself of this, the first opportunity I have had, to pay a tribute to his memory. Sir Lepel Griffin was a very remarkable man, and had a very versatile intellect. He was thoroughly devoted to India, and to the welfare and prosperity of its inhabitants. He lost no opportunity of showing his sympathy for those who in former years he had governed. He showed it in a practical way. He showed it by devoting himself to the interests of this Association. He very seldom missed a meeting, and you are all well aware that whenever he was present, and whatever was the subject of the lecture, Sir Lepel Griffin's remarks were always well worth listening to, and were always eloquent and clear. I hope you will allow me to say that I deeply regret that we have lost him at a time when he was full of energy and full of work, and when we might well look forward to his genial presence at our meetings here.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it certainly shows the importance of the subject under discussion that it has elicited two such interesting papers as we have listened to. I was very sorry that I could not be here when Mr. Spring's paper, which was certainly very suggestive, was delivered. What was communicated to us in that paper of the opinions of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda was of the greatest importance. I have read his remarks with the greatest attention, and I think in a very few words he has put the problem of industrial education in such a way that everybody must be convinced that we have a great deal to retrieve in that direction. To a certain extent I must defend myself. I never like to offer any criticisms of my successors in the Government of India unless I can show that when I was there myself I attended to the subject to which the criticism refers, and, therefore, I may remind you that when in Bombay we considered the question of what was the best memorial we could erect at the jubilee of Her late Majesty the Queen and Empress, we decided to have a Technical Institute in Bombay called after Her Majesty "The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute." I will not say that that is the first institution at which technical instruction was given, because technical instruction was given at the College of Science in Poona. I saw there with my own eyes young natives engaged in manual work; so that it would be quite unfair to say that the matter had not been thought of before; but at Poona it was more or less an annexe, whereas in Bombay the object of the school was distinctly for the artisans, for those who intended to work in the mills or in other places. I well remember that we had the absolute support of the native community in Bombay, and we have had it since; in fact, the majority of the members of the committee are our Indian fellow-subjects, and the majority of the teachers, of course, are also natives; so that we can say that that institution, the first of its kind in India, certainly deserves the support, and has obtained the support, of all classes in the great city of Bombay. Bombay has, of course, always taken rather a lead, and I was very glad to see that in Mr. Spring's paper he paid a tribute to what had been done by my friend, the late Mr. Tata. I have always looked upon Mr. Tata as one of the great Indian benefactors whose name should be inscribed on the roll of the most distinguished Parsis, by reason of his work and his munificence in founding the Research Institute at Bangalore. I have recently had a letter from Dr. Travers, who tells me that very soon they will be ready to begin operations at Bangalore, and I expect that that institution will have a great influence on the development of technical teaching in India. I entirely agree with what Mr. Chisholm has said, that there is absolutely nothing in the intellectual construction of the Indian mind that makes it impossible for them to grasp these industrial activities, and anything in that direction. On the contrary, I myself have always been struck by the extreme agility and by the artistic sense which was developed in the artisans of India, and how very pleased they were when praise was bestowed on them for something which showed undoubtedly innate artistic genius. You have only to pay a visit to the workshops of an Indian railway company, or to an arsenal, or to a mill, to find out the capacity of the Indian artisan. Therefore we have a fertile soil on which

to sow the seed. It is lamentable to think of the number of articles—I shall not give you a list, because it would be tedious, but you are well aware of it—which at present are imported into India, and which could just as well be made in India, if not better. I must not forget what Mr. Chisholm has said about Schools of Art. We have in Bombay a School of Art where there was an English director, but under that English director, what I should call the heads of the various departments, were all native skilled artisans, who were there in order simply to keep up the traditions, which, as Mr. Chisholm said, would otherwise have been lost. They were working there with pupils as their apprentices. I believe that it has been the saving of a great deal of artistic knowledge which otherwise would have been lost. Now I shall only say one word on the question of education. It is a remarkable fact that in the last decades the tendency in England has undoubtedly been, and you will notice it in all the new Universities which have recently been founded, to give to the development of engineering and to the scientific side of education, perhaps a little too much attention. It is quite noticeable also in the London University. We have now a large number of scientific and engineering students, greater than the number of students who take the arts faculty and the literary side. In India it is rather the reverse, but I am perfectly convinced when once in India public opinion gets awakened to the immense loss which results from the fact of this neglect, that we shall see, and very properly see, our Indian fellow-subjects claiming their proper share of this scientific and technical development. I believe at the present moment both the Government of India and the local governments are well aware of the importance of developing this side. It is quite obvious that, supposing all appointments and all posts in India were thrown open and even held by our fellow-subjects in India, even then there would not be enough posts for the number of graduates which the Indian Universities every year produce. It is quite an error to think that by opening up more avenues there will be room for absorbing all those who now aspire to Government service. I should be the last person to say anything against high proficiency being obtained in literature, for instance, in Sanscrit. I was very glad to hear the Government of India had established a scholarship in Sanscrit, so that the winner of the scholarship may go to Berlin, to Paris, or to one of the various European Oriental schools in order to reap the benefit of the highest and best results of classical research with regard to Sanscrit. As I say, I have no objection whatever to a high standard of this classical education being maintained, but, on the other hand, there must be amongst those who are obtaining that education many who, if they had entered the scientific side, the more modern side of education, would at this moment have been able to be placed at the head of various industrial undertakings, to be engineers and so forth, and it would not have been necessary, as you saw from Mr. Spring's paper, that at the works which Mr. Tata has started Americans should be employed if competent Indian candidates had been available to take these posts. There is in store for India, I am perfectly convinced, a wonderful development. We have Mr. Chisholm's authority for saying that we may look forward to very capable architects. We have

capable engineers already, and there is no reason why there should not be more. We know that there is a gentleman now at Calcutta, Mr. Bose, who occupies a leading place in the world of science. That shows what can be done. I think that we must in this respect rely upon the young Indians to prepare themselves for the occupation of a field which lies fallow, which promises a rich harvest. I may mention that at Glasgow at this moment there is a technical institute which is as good as the famous Charlottenburg Institute. In Scotland we had the same enthusiasm as exists in India for classics and philosophy. The genius of the nation was rather in that direction. Still, in Scotland in recent years young men are waking up to the necessity of taking up industrial and scientific education. We have not forsaken the one, but we have obtained the other. I give you that as the best instance that I can give you of what I am looking forward to as opening up a better and more prosperous future for India, which is the object we all have at heart.

MR. DUCHESNE said a question had been raised by Mr. Chisholm as to whether the Government had any right to run institutions of such a character as might possibly come into competition with private enterprise. He did not know exactly how that question would be regarded in Great Britain, but he certainly thought, as regarded all forms of artistic and industrial enterprise in India, it was absolutely necessary that the Government should take the lead, because by tradition the Indian artisan and art-worker depended upon a patron, and England, by the change that her rule had brought about, had put out of existence the patron who formerly insured to the art-worker at once an incentive and a livelihood. It was only common justice where there was any possibility of supporting, encouraging, or enhancing the stability of any art work that the Government should step in and supply the necessary encouragement. There could not be any serious competition with private enterprise for the very sufficient reason that private enterprise did not exist. If the English Government were to start a huge manufactory in all the prisons of England to compete with Messrs. Liberty's art fabrics, Messrs. Liberty would employ the Press, and possibly the influence of Members of Parliament, to protest vigorously against such an infringement of the rights of private enterprise; but this was not at all the state of things that existed in India. He held very strongly that it was the duty of the Government to foster art enterprise, and when they had demonstrated the possibilities of a particular line of work, then it would be found that private enterprise would step in to take up the work. As a result of what had been done at the Reay School of Art in Bombay, Indian capitalists were stepping in. Speaking from personal observation, he thought the theoretical objections to interfere with private enterprise did not exist in the case of the type of work in India which was contemplated by Mr. Chisholm's paper.

MR. K. CHOWDRY agreed with the last speaker as to the usefulness of Schools of Art in reviving old handicrafts, to which many hundreds owed their means of obtaining employment. He referred to the splendid technical school in Bombay. He only wished there could be one such technical school in each province, in which case the industrial

problem would be much nearer solution. Mr. Chisholm's suggestion that the Public Works Department should work in co-operation with the Schools of Art was a splendid one, for it would afford opportunities to apprentices to learn the trades of the country, and he hoped the Chairman would use his influence with the Government of India so that it should be made a condition of Public Works Department contractors' tenders being accepted that they (the contractors) should take a certain number of apprentices recommended by the local engineering college, School of Art, and other industrial institutions. The Secretary of State for India who places £2,000,000 worth of orders with the British manufacturers every year should impose similar conditions, so that openings can be created for a number of Indians who come to this country for higher industrial training. The Japanese Government sends a number of men for industrial training in this country under contracts made with British shipbuilders, locomotive manufacturers, and other industrial concerns. Mr. Chowdry regretted that the scholars selected under Lord Curzon's splendid scheme of technical education in Europe and America have not been encouraged by the Indian Government to join practical works in this country and on the Continent. Most of them came and went back with diplomas and degrees, and not with practical knowledge of the particular industries they were selected for, and the result was that they had to apply to Government for service when they returned home.

MR. GUTTACK said India, with its teeming millions of agricultural people, had to compete against more advanced scientific material, and the ultimate regeneration of India and the material welfare of the unorganized masses lay principally in the revival of the indigenous arts and industries of the country. No one could deny that the commerce of a nation formed its backbone, and the practical absence of industrial arts led to all the poverty that existed. The lecturer had referred to the advisability of the Public Works Department of India keeping a staff of trained workmen in the workshops instead of giving out contracts; but this was only part of the problem which was interesting all Indians. If India was to exist as a nation it would be by the study of the indigenous arts. Mr. Chisholm's suggestion for alleviating the pain and suffering of those for whom work could not be found was a good one; but where were they to get these trained workmen with the proper scientific knowledge to be able to work with the complicated and ingenious products of modern science? The importance of cheap technical education could not be too strongly urged. Ninety-nine per cent. of the people had not the means to undergo a proper technical education. To remove this curse they must have sufficient funds, not only to pay for expert professors, but also to advance to the people who could not afford to pay, but showed their willingness to work, small sums to defray their educational expenses on the understanding that they would refund them when their circumstances enabled them to do so.

SIR A. T. ARUNDEL said Mr. Chisholm, by his artistic and architectural skill, had entirely transformed the appearance of Madras. He then went on to give several instances of the artistic feeling and mechanical taste of the people which had come under his own observation. With regard to

what Mr. Duchesne had said about supported industries, he should like to say that some few years ago Mr. Chatterton, who held the post at one time held by Mr. Chisholm, determined to try whether he could not start an aluminium factory. He could get no support at that time from Government, so he ordered a ton of aluminium to be sent out at his own cost, and he employed workmen. There were natives possessing the artistic and mechanical skill to work it, and, with the assistance of Government, he gradually developed this industry until it attained a large scale, and then he came to the conclusion that it was time for Government to withdraw. The Government did withdraw, and the work was now being successfully carried on by the Aluminium Company in Madras and Bangalore. He was delighted to hear that the Tata Institution of Bangalore was likely to show good results. The local Governments of India were now paying far more attention to the industrial and technical side of education than formerly. The drift of education in past years had been too literary and legal, but science, art, medicine, and engineering were now receiving attention and support more in accord with their importance.

MR. DWARAKADAS said no doubt many of his hearers would not agree with him, but, in his opinion, so long as the British were in India it would be impossible for the country to develop industrially, socially, or in any way.

MR. REID thought the industrial development of India should be put into the hands of English missionaries.

MR. R. A. L. MOORE said the idea of the Chairman, and all those who had hitherto spoken, was that scientific and technical instruction should be spread throughout India, but, in his opinion, if this were done without taking a preliminary step, a very difficult position would be created. A great deal of the "unrest" in India was due to the fact that there was a large literary class who could not find employment, and the unrest would only be increased by the addition of a large number of technical men in the same position. The industries of India required protection against the competition of Lancashire and England generally. The real grievance in India was that its industries were not allowed to develop owing to competition under Free Trade. He would respectfully ask their attention to Britain's great competitors, the Germans, who applied science to industries and commerce to a greater extent than any other nation in the world, and who certainly lead in all the new sciences. This state of things had sprung up under the protection of a tariff wall. India would never have a chance of developing until she had protection against the world, including England. He preferred protection *plus* preference, which would shut out the German and the American, and give preference to Lancashire, which did not compete with Indian products to such an extent as other industrial centres, because the Lancashire products were of a finer texture. India under Protection would become much richer, and would take more from England than it did at present, in the same way as Australia did in spite of its tariff. In his opinion England would not suffer in the end by adopting the honest course of giving Protection to India. If they trained up Indian workmen without allowing the employers to establish their works behind Protection they would add to the unrest in India.

MR. MARTYN said he was not a politician, and he did not take much interest in the question of Protection *versus* Free Trade; he was a student of science, and from that point of view he would say that India was very thankful to England for all it had done for that country; but it seemed to have been forgotten that what was good for one country might not be good for another. What India wanted was education from an agricultural standpoint. India was an agricultural nation, and could not compete with the industrial nations of the world. The development of a nation was dependent upon its own environment. In a country like England, which was intensely cold for a great part of the year, activity was the characteristic of the nation; but in a country like India, which was intensely hot, the characteristic of the people was passivity.

MR. GIRDHÁRI LÁL said he approved of Mr. Chisholm's paper, and strongly protested against Mr. Martyn's remarks as to the incompetency of the Indian for industrial development. He (Mr. Martin) laid great stress on agriculture, but he (Mr. Girdhári Lál) contended that the Marwaris have competed with Europeans in all parts of the world, and the artisans of India, though in a dying state, because of the English Government intentionally and deliberately forcing the people of India to buy Lancashire goods, still produce such beautiful articles as European countries could never produce. Agriculture must, no doubt, be properly looked after, but industrial education and improvement of the indigenous Indian industries must be kept to the front. It is not the want of agriculture and hence the want of production in India, but the over-exportation of wheat and grain and cotton from India that causes famines and starvation in India. He quite agreed with Mr. Moore that there must be Protection to protect Indian industries.

MR. CHISHOLM said time would not permit of his replying fully to all the points raised by the discussion, which had rather drifted into political lines. What Mr. Moore had said was perfectly true; if they were merely to turn a large number of educated technical men on to the country, they would demand employment just in the same way as the literary gentlemen did; but the schools of industrial arts were peculiarly for the artisan. They were not intended to develop anything but the artisan, and that in such a way that he would be a useful member of the community, and thoroughly understand what he had to do. Another point: it was quite a mistake to suppose that if a native of India were sent to England he could take back to his country a vast amount of technical knowledge, and he illustrated this by giving his own experience when endeavouring to obtain information from an eminent London potter about potting bodies. This gentleman told him that if he were allowed to see his kilns, he would be able to do in India exactly what was being done in London, and so be able to undersell London because labour was cheaper in India. The only way in which he (Mr. Chisholm) was able to obtain the information he wanted was by giving his word of honour to a friend who owned a pottery, and who allowed him to see the works, that he would never export anything to Burmah if he were successful. He advocated giving the natives, who were all highly intellectual, a chance of doing the thing properly. They

did not want to be taught anything ; they would teach themselves the moment encouragement was given them. He had never found a workman of any kind who was not technically equal to the English workman. The construction of every public building in India should be made a workshop for encouraging and improving the native artisan.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN then proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Reay for his great kindness in coming there that evening, and for the admirable way in which he had performed his duties.

The motion having been duly passed,

The CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen, I thank you very much for the way you have received the motion proposed by my friend, Sir Lesley Probyn. I only want to make two observations. The first observation is with regard to the extreme importance of agricultural education. I was very glad to hear that said because I had overlooked it. I was going to refer to it in the first remarks that I made. I made a special note of it in my brain, but as my brain has not been trained at an Indian college, where memory is so wonderfully cultivated, I overlooked it. I may say that to a certain extent I am quite satisfied that latterly in India that matter has not been overlooked. I was recently chairman of a Departmental Committee on Agriculture, where we had most interesting evidence given by the Director of Agriculture in Bombay, and I believe we also had evidence from a gentleman who was the Director of Agriculture in the Punjab. It is quite clear that the Government of India and the local governments are quite alive to the duty of developing agricultural education, but I must add that I do not for a moment believe that India is unable to compete with any other nation of the world in the sphere of arts and manufactures if the people are properly trained. I am very sorry to see Mr. Moore has gone; but he compels me to confess that I am, like Lord Cromer, an absolute unregenerate free trader, and I do not believe that we could do anything worse than give a protective tariff to India. Before we leave, to thank the Chairman and not to thank the lecturer would not be according to the rules of Indian courtesy, and, therefore, I propose that we should give a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Chisholm.

The motion was received with applause, and the proceedings terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, May 24, 1909, a paper was read by Sir Robert Fulton, L.L.D., on "The Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service"—Sir Erle Richards, K.C., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir James Monteath, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., the Kumar Rajah of Bobbili, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Lady Fulton, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S. (retired), Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. H. W. Arathoon, Mr. Peary Chand Dutt, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Maddox, Colonel D. C. Phillott, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. I. V. Bhiyanga Rav, Mr. K. Naraina Rau, Mr. F. H. Barrow, Mr. K. Chowdry, Captain Walsh, Mr. J. Sands, Miss Beck, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. M. Pratt, Mr. H. H. Shipham, Mr. A. Cooper, Mr. A. Porteous, Mr. B. K. Mullick, Miss F. Winterbottom, Mr. N. N. Ghattak, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Fitz-Adam Ormiston, Mrs. Presgrave, Mr. R. J. M. Mathew, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

SIR FREDERIC FRYER said that he joined the Executive Service and went to the Punjab, but he had to pass an examination in Civil Law in that province, and in those days a district officer had to try civil cases. Shortly before he was transferred to Burmah district officers were relieved of civil judicial work by the appointment of separate District Judges. In the Punjab at the present time the two branches of the service were separate, which he thought was a great advantage. When the Chief Court was first established in Burmah there was a great agitation, particularly in Rangoon, as to the appointment of the Chief Judge. The Secretary of State appointed a civilian, in spite of the fact that the appointment of a civilian had not been recommended by the Burmah Government; but he subsequently learned that a civilian had been selected on the advice of a most distinguished ex-Chief Justice on the ground that he knew the country and the people better than a barrister would have done, and that in a newly annexed province, where much work had to be done in constituting courts and training Judges in the interior, a Chief Judge who knew the people and the language was desirable. That Chief Judge had been succeeded by two other civilians, but now a barrister had been appointed. He thought that the best man should be appointed, whether a barrister or a civilian. (Hear, hear.) The career of members of the Civil Service in India was largely a matter of chance; some became executive officers and some judicial officers. He was for seventeen years an Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, and used to look on his confrères in the judicial branch with a considerable amount of envy. Usually there was not much to choose between barristers and civilian Judges. Their origin was

identical in most cases, and the main difference between them was in the matter of training. Even though a civilian, when he was appointed to the Bench, might be somewhat deficient in judicial experience, he soon made up for it when he had gained experience. He remembered one Judge who was thought to know but little about law when he was appointed, but by experience he became one of the best Judges on the Bench. He thought they would all understand from the example of Sir Robert Fulton that it was possible for a civilian to be a Judge and obtain commendation from all degrees, official and non-official. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL thought they were much indebted to Sir Robert Fulton for his very interesting and useful paper; but there were a few criticisms that he would like to make on the subject of promotion to the higher appointments. In the first place, all members of the Civil Service who went to India were not so fortunate in the matter of health as Sir Robert Fulton and himself had been throughout the whole period of service. In the year he (the speaker) went to India there were five members sent to his (the Madras) Presidency, of whom one died and one had to retire from ill-health within five years of his reaching India. In the year when Sir Robert Fulton went out there were nineteen men sent to Madras, of whom twelve died, either during their service or within two or three years after. He cordially concurred with the recommendation of the Decentralization Commission that if a man was found to be unfit to be either a Collector or a Judge, he should be employed in a subordinate position, or else retired upon a proportionate pension. (Hear, hear.) The lecturer had said that judicial civilians, except in Burmah and the Punjab, were not promoted to the highest executive offices, but in Madras Sir Philip Hutchins, who was a District Judge and a Judge of the High Court, became a member of the Madras Council and of the Viceroy's Council, and finally of the Secretary of State's Council. There was also the case of Sir Edmund Fulton, Judge of the High Court of Bombay, who became a member of the Council of that Presidency. There was one advantage enjoyed by judicial as compared with executive officers—namely, the six weeks or two months' recess which had not been mentioned by the lecturer. They had heard what Sir Robert Fulton had said about the monotony of the life of a Judge, and the recess was a great advantage and attraction to the judicial branch of the Service. He agreed with the lecturer that the judicial branch of the Civil Service ought to be maintained, but a change should be made in the system of training. He thought that after three or five years, instead of twelve, the young civilian ought to be called upon to decide whether he would enter the Judicial or the Executive Service, and if he chose the former he should be allowed leave with special allowances, and should be encouraged to read for the Bar, and also to associate himself with some rising or risen barrister so as to understand the methods of disposing of business in the Courts of law at home.

SIR RAYMOND WEST said that, having once been a student for the Bar, he did not feel, because he entered the Civil Service, that he was for ever disqualified from knowing anything about law. The same, he supposed,

might be said of many other members of the I.C.S. He had had the advantage since his retirement of taking part in the training of many young men at Cambridge University, some of whom, so far from showing incapacity, were now rising to distinction in their offices in India. Some years ago he had seen some observations of Sir Henry Maine on the subject, and he said that he had on one occasion gone carefully through the answers given by the young men of the Civil Service on their examination in law, and he was struck with the high general ability manifested by those answers. He had no reason to suppose that since that time the average capacity of the young men who went out to India had declined; on the contrary, it had probably somewhat improved. Having been associated for so many years with these young men, he was of opinion that the method of selecting candidates from the Universities could not be practically much improved upon. He advocated the giving of a prize to those probationers who distinguished themselves in the legal examinations, as this would encourage them to study law with special earnestness. In the Bombay Presidency young men were appointed after four years or so as Assistant Judges, and in that capacity they gained valuable experience, and there was an opportunity for the District Judges and the Judges of the High Court to form a very fair estimate of their work. He was strongly of opinion that the opinion of the Chief Justice and one of the Judges of the High Court should be taken before a man was promoted to the Judicial Service. The work of a Judge was very often of an unattractive kind, and he thought it ought to be recompensed by giving a somewhat higher salary than in the revenue line. If that were done there would be many more young men readily coming forward as Assistant Judges or Junior Judges. While they were thus qualifying themselves in the law by practical work under skilled and experienced supervision, they would also be acquiring a knowledge of the country and the people by their intimate association with the natives, from the highest rank down to the ryot, which a barrister in the ordinary course of things never could acquire. In his experience, which was considerable, he had only known one barrister who could converse with facility with the natives. In order to get competent men it was necessary to institute a somewhat higher standard of legal attainment, and also to make it worth the while of civilians in the Indian Service to attain proficiency. A very small reward would be sufficient to induce them to do so. Some of the Judges of the High Court were selected from the Civil Service, and they had only to look at the judgments of the High Court to see that the barrister Judges sometimes showed a relative weakness in their knowledge of native life and of the system of government as compared with civilian. Sir James Stephen, indeed, had expressed his admiration of the extent and accuracy of the knowledge of those Civil Servants with whom he had been associated. In his opinion it would be undesirable that the executive branch of the Service should be wholly severed from the judicial branch, as their efficiency depended on a substratum of common feeling—(applause)—and common principles which was essential to the harmonious working of the whole administrative system. Continental theorists from Montroquien downwards had been

apt to overlook this diffused force of moral gravitation, which drew all parts of the English system together, and in practice there had resulted an independence of the executive which was far removed from English ideas of individual freedom. The free and possibly antagonistic action of the different powers in the State was, in truth, much less desirable than their joint harmonious co-operation. In India this co-operation was quite indispensable to justice and good government.

MR. BUCKLAND said that, having been Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government for some two years, he had necessarily been intimately connected with the judicial administration of the province. It was part of his duty while Chief Secretary to have weekly meetings with Sir Robert Fulton, who was at that time the Judge in charge of the English Department of the High Court, and before advising the Lieutenant-Governor to discuss with him the merits and the prospects of the young civilians who were qualifying for District Judgeships. He fully concurred with Sir Robert Fulton in thinking that it was wrong that young officers who had failed in the executive branch should be relegated to the judicial branch. In his opinion it was an improper doctrine, to which he had never given his assent or support. He agreed with what had been said by the Decentralization Commission, and quoted by Sir Arundel Arundel, on the subject as to the proper way in which such cases of failure should be treated.

With regard to compelling young officers at the end of twelve years' service to make their election as to which branch of the Service they should enter, he would venture to correct Sir Robert Fulton's statement that the separation of the branches of the Service was introduced by Sir Richard Temple. It was, in fact, originated in 1873 by Sir George Campbell, and was called the scheme of parallel promotion, the principle object of which was to prevent unnecessary transfer of officers by equalizing the pay. It devolved upon Sir Richard Temple to develop the scheme, and this little correction in no way affected the argument. At the time it was anticipated by Sir Richard Temple that there would be difficulty about the legal training of the young civilians choosing the judicial department, and from the information now furnished it would appear that that difficulty, anticipated thirty-three years ago, had not yet been overcome. One obvious means of making an improvement would be to make the young civilians choosing the judicial department Assistant District Judges much earlier in their career, as had been suggested by Sir Raymond West. He (the speaker) did not see why they should not be required to perform Munsif's work, and hold Small-cause Court Judgeships, and work in the legislative departments, Imperial and provincial, which, he thought, would do a great deal to give them a better knowledge of the law. Another method would be to make it more or less compulsory on young men coming home on their first furlough, when from eight to twelve years' service, to go into chambers with some barrister in good practice, and attend the Law Courts and lectures. This, he thought, would teach them a great deal of law, which would be useful to them afterwards.

He was not altogether prepared to agree with what Sir Robert Fulton

had said with regard to the superior attractions of the Executive Service. A good many of the executive officers thought the judicial department had its advantages, such as the five High Court Judgeships on 4,000 Rs. a month, and three Judgeships on 3,000 Rs. a month. There were also numerous judicial holidays and the vacations of the High Court, which were a very material consideration to a man who had to make his choice. One advantage of the judicial branch was that the work of a Judge was physically lighter than that of an executive officer; the discomforts of touring were considerable, and were often irksome. Also, the executive officers had many departments to deal with always troubling them, whereas the judicial officers had one master only—the High Court.

In conclusion, he hoped nothing would be done to abolish civilian Judges of the High Court; he regarded it as of the utmost importance, from a political point of view, that civilian Judges, who knew the character of the people and the language, should continue to be appointed to the courts, and that the appointments should not be made over to unsuccessful barristers who knew nothing of the language, and never tried to know the language, and who had had no experience of the country. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say a few words to express the opinion I have formed after the experience I have had in India during the last five years. The subject of the paper is one which has occupied much of my attention. In the first place, I am certain that we all desire to express our thanks to Sir Robert Fulton for the very interesting essay which he has read, and for the discussion which he has inaugurated. He apologized for introducing the subject at all; but to my mind, and I believe to the mind of everybody who has been in India, it is one of the first importance, and one which is eminently proper for the consideration of this Society. It is upon the maintenance of the administration of justice in India at the highest possible level that the British Raj must largely rest. (Hear, hear.)

Now I venture to think that the discussion this afternoon has tended to drift away from the real issue. We have occupied some time in comparing the relative merits of barrister Judges and of civilian Judges. Having regard to the large number of civilians in this room, I confess I feel somewhat timid of embarking on a discussion of that kind; and I am glad to think that it is not necessary, because it is not the point before us to-day. The subject we have to consider is the efficiency of the Judges who are members of the Indian Civil Service, whether Englishmen or natives of India, and primarily their efficiency in the disposal of civil suits and appeals. Now, in the first place, we have the fact that no one in the world has ever questioned the absolute honesty and integrity of these Judges; in the second place, we have this farther fact, equally undisputed, that the present system does produce Judges who can hold their own with Judges trained under other systems. If there were anyone in this room who would challenge that statement, I should do as they do in courts of law: I should "put in" Sir Raymond West and the lecturer as evidence to prove my case on that point. (Laughter and applause.) We need not stop to discuss these two matters. The point before us is, whether the average

civilian Judge is as competent as he ought to be, or as we can make him ; or, in other words, whether we give civilian Judges sufficient opportunities of acquiring knowledge of the law, and of obtaining judicial experience, to enable them to discharge their duties with the utmost proficiency ? (Hear, hear.) To that question Sir Robert Fulton says No ; he is clearly of opinion that the present system is not satisfactory. I endorse that view. I am clear that some change is necessary, and I say that the matter is one that requires attention, and immediate attention. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the men we have are good enough, but that the system is wrong. We put men to act as Judges in Courts of Appeal who have no knowledge of law, and who not infrequently have never been in a court of law, before they take their seats on the appellate bench. Gazetting a member of the Civil Service as a Judge does not of itself qualify him to perform his duties competently ; training and experience are needed, and the more so because the Judges of the Lower Courts, from whose decisions appeals lie to civilian Judges, are year by year becoming more efficient. The fact is that in the more advanced provinces of India the age has gone by when a man, however able, can discharge all duties. The time has come when men must specialize—(hear, hear)—whether they enter the judicial line, the police, the Customs, or other like branches ; and I urge most strongly that the time has come when we must manufacture specialists for the judicial branch. The evil of the present state of things is largely accentuated by the practice to which Sir Robert Fulton has referred—namely, the practice of the heads of the executive of putting their bad men on to the Bench, a practice which I can assure you is abhorrent to a devout follower of the law such as myself. I hold that the present state of things cannot be justified, and I believe that anybody who has studied the question will agree in thinking that reform is called for.

The question remains as to the nature of the reform. I start with this : I say that the civilians who are sent out to India are the best material we can get. I would not recruit them in any different way from that at present in force, but I recommend that after they have joined the Civil Service, they should be called on to make their choice between the judicial and the executive lines at a much earlier period than has been done hitherto. I lay great stress on this. I believe that election after twelve years' service is far too late. (Hear, hear.) Under the existing system, the choice is made when they are thirty-four or thirty-six years of age, and that is far too late a time to begin to learn law. I urge that civilians should be made to elect, subject to a power in the Local Government, to select, if necessary, at the end of three years' service, and that, when the election has once been made, it should be final and irrevocable. I would not allow any executive officer to take a man from the judicial branch to do executive duties ; nor would I allow the executive to put on the Bench a gentleman who had failed to discharge his duties satisfactorily in the executive department. Then, having got men allocated in this way to the judicial line, at the end of three years' service, we must take steps to make them competent Judges. To my mind, the two objects to be aimed at are these : the first, that they should have some knowledge of the

*principles* of law; the second, that they should have some knowledge of actual practice in courts, of the manner in which the Judges control the Bar, and regulate proceedings, and witnesses, and so on. I see Sir Robert Fulton in one part of his paper adumbrates a further examination to test the knowledge of these gentlemen in civil law, but for myself I do not believe in examinations as a test of proficiency in law for a Judge or for a practising barrister. I lay stress on these two points. In the first place, I say the judicial civilians must learn the principles of law. The courts in India, as a whole, are much more technical in their views than the courts in this country ; they decide cases, as I venture to think, on much narrower grounds than are taken by Judges in His Majesty's High Court in London. The reason of that has always appeared to me to be that we do not teach people in India the broad principles of law. I hold that every lawyer ought to be educated in those great principles on which our legal system is based. I am no opponent of codes—I am myself directly responsible for the last edition of one or more of our codes—but I think India is suffering from an excessive adoration of codes at present. To decide that a case falls within, or without, the exact words of any particular section of a code is to decide it on technical grounds. It should be the aim of every Judge to ascertain the principle of law which is embodied in a particular section before him, and then to apply that principle to the case he has to decide. For this reason I urge that civilians who choose the judicial line should be trained in the broad principles of law.

The second point is that they should have practical experience, and for this purpose I recommend that they should read in the chambers of some practising barrister in England, and follow him into court as much as possible. I suggest that training of this kind could be sufficiently controlled and regulated through the legal advisers of the India Office. There should be no difficulty in making such financial concessions as would be necessary to enable civilians to take advantage of this training.

If these proposals were adopted, we should have a cadre of men specialized in law and definitely reserved for judicial work. This would be a very real step in advance, and it is one which could be made with the minimum of disturbance of the present administrative system. But whatever shape reform may take, I say that reform of some kind is immediately necessary. I have urged this on every occasion since I became convinced of the defects of the existing system. I urge it on you to-day, and I am confident, from what I have heard in this room, that the eminent authorities who have addressed the society are agreed that something should be done and done at once.

I will not further stand between you and Sir Robert Fulton, except to say this : I agree with him that everything that can be done to make the judicial line attractive should be done. But I differ from him when he proposes that civilians should be eligible for the posts of Chief Justices of High Courts. I am prepared to argue the point with him when it is necessary, but I will not stop to do so on the present occasion, because I believe the proposal is not within the range of practical politics. The opposition of the public would be too great for any Government to face. Nor am I

personally in favour of appointing civilian Judges to Executive Councils. I think it is better that Judges should be absolutely free from any temptation which might be held out by possibilities of executive advancement.

A MEMBER : What about the Lord Chancellor ?

The CHAIRMAN : The Lord Chancellor has but seldom been appointed from the Bench. I think the great object ought to be to have our judiciary absolutely independent of the executive in every way. (Applause.) In this connection Sir Robert Fulton referred to the legal membership, and suggested that the appointment would in future always be held by an Indian. I differ from him there. I know no more than any other reader of the newspapers, but I have never understood that the appointment of my successor was made on any ground other than that the gentleman appointed was the most competent of the candidates. I am absolutely opposed to the suggestion that the appointment is always to be reserved for an Indian. (Loud applause.)

SIR ROBERT FULTON thanked the meeting for the manner in which they had received his paper, and the speakers for the very interesting remarks they had made on the subject ; and in conclusion proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, having thanked Sir Robert Fulton and the meeting for the cordial way in which they had received the vote of thanks, proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Robert Fulton, which was carried by acclamation.

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SIR ROBERT FULTON writes : Sir Erle Richards, in his criticisms on my paper, has said that he does not agree with me that a civilian Judge should be eligible for a Chief Justiceship in India or for the legal membership of Council, and that the appointment of a civilian Judge to a Chief Justiceship would be met with a "cry of horror." He has given no reasons for this opinion. It will be remembered that in my paper I put forward a very moderate contention. I only asked that the fact of a Judge having passed for the Indian Civil Service should not be regarded as a disqualification for high legal office in India, provided the Judge were well qualified for the office, and had been called to the Bar. As Sir Erle Richards admits that India cannot at present do without civilian Judges, I can only infer that he is of opinion that success at the Indian Civil Service examination --in other words, the possession of a good general education--should, as now, debar a Judge for promotion in the judicial line. Why this should be so I do not understand, and Sir Erle Richards does not explain. It can only proceed, I think, on the assumption that all barristers, before being appointed as Judges in India, are thoroughly competent and versed in all branches of Indian law, are superior to civilian Judges, and are selected on the ground of merit alone. This is not always the case. It may be so in exceptional instances, as, for instance, in that of Sir Erle Richards himself. But one of his predecessors in the post of legal member of Council--viz., Sir Alexander Miller--was a Lunacy Commissioner ; another was Registrar of the Privy Council. The late Chief Justice of Bengal was, like Sir Alexander Miller, a Lunacy Commissioner before

being appointed as Chief Justice. There is, of course, no connection between the study of the legal aspects of lunacy and high legal office in India, though there probably is between political services rendered in England and high legal office in India. Now, there is a maxim of Hindu law that "an ounce of fact is better than a hundred texts." I therefore venture to mention a few facts connected with my judicial experience in India, which may be more telling than argument. When I joined the High Court of Calcutta in 1888, I sat with the then Chief Justice of Bengal on the Criminal Bench. One of the cases we heard was an appeal by a prisoner who had been convicted by the Sessions Judge of Patna and a jury of the embezzlement of certain ornaments which had been entrusted to him. It was well proved that he had received the ornaments, but it could not be shown what he had done with them. He, however, denied their receipt, and, of course, refused to return them. The Chief Justice considered that the conviction was bad. I maintained that it was good. I expressed my regret at disagreeing with the Chief Justice, but he told me he did not feel confident that he was right, because during the course of his practice at the Bar he had only been engaged in four criminal cases. He therefore called in Mr. Justice Wilson (now the Right Honourable Sir Arthur Wilson) to settle our difference of opinion. Mr. Justice Wilson heard the counsel for the appellant for about two minutes, and then, addressing him in accordance with the usual practice, as if he were his client, said : "You have not only committed embezzlement, but you are committing that offence at this very moment." The counsel smiled, and sat down. The Chief Justice whispered to me : "We had better have a new trial," to which I assented, and so the matter ended. I will now mention another "fact." Some years ago I presided over the Criminal Bench. One of my barrister colleagues (and a most charming and delightful colleague he was) came to me and said that he wished to sit with me, as he had no experience of criminal work. I readily agreed, and we sat together for about a fortnight. At the end of the fortnight the Bench had to be broken up, as my colleague was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of another province.

**Fact No. 3.** Many years ago an acting civilian Judge, Mr. Justice Porter, was sitting with the then Chief Justice of Bengal on a civil appeal. At the end of the appeal the Chief Justice asked Mr. Justice Porter to deliver judgment. Mr. Justice Porter said he would prefer to do so the following day. The Chief Justice then turned to Mr. Justice Porter and said : "That is what you civilian Judges are defective in; you cannot give a *viva voce* judgment offhand." In the argument of the next case called on, many vernacular expressions were made use of. They were very simple expressions, such as "*deng paona*," and so forth. The Chief Justice whispered to Mr. Justice Porter : "What does all this mean? I don't understand." Mr. Justice Porter explained—and added : "That is what you barrister Judges are so defective in. You don't understand the simplest vernacular expressions!"

I remember sitting with the same Chief Justice in a criminal appeal. Mr. M. M. Ghose was for the appellant. In the Lower Court's judgment

the expression "the C.S.I." occurred several times. The Chief Justice said: "Mr. Ghose, who is the C.S.I.?" Mr. Ghose, with an air of solemnity, replied: "My Lord, I do not know. I know what a K.C.S.I. is; I even know what a C.S.I. is, but I do not know who *the* C.S.I. is." The whole Court was nonplussed, and looked appealingly at me. I cleared up the matter by observing: "The C.S.I. is, of course, the Court sub-inspector, who, in the Magistrate's Court, is the prosecutor."

In my paper I have pointed out that, in all the cases which have called forth public criticism in Calcutta during the last twenty years, the presiding Judges were not civilians. I referred to the Bangobashi case, the Boyle case, the Rolt case, the Bain case, the Savage case, the Bloomfield murder case, and the Swaraj case. It is an unquestionable fact that barrister Judges fresh from England are for at least three years very much in the hands of their civilian and of their Indian colleagues (as in the Bloomfield murder and Swaraj cases), and learn their work from them. It is only fair, then, I submit, that all should have an equal chance of rising, and that in conferring promotion regard should be had to merit alone.

If I had my career to go over again, I would certainly not elect to serve in the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

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### ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association, whose object is "to promote by all legitimate means the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally" by the encouragement of free public discussion, by friendly meetings, by lectures, and "by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems connected with India and its administration," was held at the offices of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 16, when the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the President, occupied the chair, and amongst others present were Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Mr. A. F. Cox, C.S.I., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. T. Hamilton, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. S. H. Freemantle, Mr. D. Cadambi, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Lord Reay, in moving the adoption of the Report and Statement of Accounts, congratulated the Association on the record of its increasing prosperity and influence. (Applause.) The past year had been a most successful one, showing an increase from £138 to £334 in the subscriptions, a balance to date of £279 to the credit of the Association, and a threefold growth in the number of subscribers. (Applause.) He thought that condition of affairs was exceedingly satisfactory, and reflected great credit on the efforts of their Hon. Secretary. (Applause) Of the greatest importance had been the result of the efforts made for the improvement of the position of Indian students in London; and their Society, with the two other societies

chiefly concerned in the matter, had ample cause to congratulate themselves. Their special thanks were due to Mr. Pennington and Dr. Pollen for their work in connection with the publication department of the Association's efforts. It was extremely desirable that public opinion as to India should be guided by the dissemination of accurate information rather than that it should be left to alarmist and rather irresponsible statements as to the condition of the country. (Applause.) From his time in India until now the situation there had always been serious. Lord Dufferin said to him once that one never knew what a day might bring forth. But at present they had no reason to regard it as particularly alarming. With the Civil Service more attentive to the signs of the times, and assurance that Parliament would receive from them and would give in return all possible sympathy and assistance, he thought they could have every hope. He congratulated the Association on the election of Lord Lamington as Chairman of Council, and referred sympathetically to the death of Sir Charles Stevens, who had served India so long, so faithfully, and so well.

The Report was adopted, on the motion of Mr. Thornton, seconded by Colonel Yate, with the addition of an expression of special thanks to Dr. Pollen for his successful efforts to increase the number of members, and to Mr. Pennington for his help in the literary work of the Association.

On the motion of Sir Charles Elliott, seconded by Sir Arundel Arundel, Lord Reay was re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year, and the following Members of the Council, retiring by rotation, were re-elected: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., the Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., and Sir Henry Seymour King, K.C.I.E., M.P.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA  
ASSOCIATION, 1908-09.

THE Council of the East India Association submit the Report and Accounts of the year 1908-09.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Association, held on July 27, 1908, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was re-elected President; and the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was appointed Chairman of Council, *vice* Sir Lepel Griffin, deceased.

Lord Lamington presided at the opening meeting of the session, held at the Caxton Hall, on Tuesday, November 3, 1908, when a paper was read by the Hon. Secretary on "The Indian Student in England."

During the year under report the welfare of Indian students residing in England engaged the attention of Council, and a letter was addressed to the Secretary of State for India urging that some such steps as those advocated in the Memorandum submitted by the Association in 1907 might be taken, in order to influence young students aright and to enable them to derive profit, and not detriment, from their stay in England.

A scheme with this end in view has since, happily, taken shape, and in response to an invitation from the Secretary of State, representatives of this Association met representatives of the India Office, of the National Indian Association, and of the Northbrook Society, in order to discuss details and elaborate the scheme. It is not intended to amalgamate the three Societies. Each will preserve its own individuality, but closer co-operation is desired, so as to avoid the overlapping and duplication of work.

The statement of the objects and policy of this Association was recast by the Council on consideration of a note drawn up by Sir Donald Robertson, and the rules as revised and amended by the Council were passed at the General Meeting held on July 27, 1908.

The object of this Association being to promote by all legitimate means the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally, and its policy being a progressive policy, it was held that the aims of the Association can best be served by free public discussion, by friendly meetings, by lectures, and also (1) by the publication of papers or leaflets diffusing accurate information ; and (2) by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems connected with India and its administration, so that the public may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of the great Dependency.

In order to facilitate the publication of such papers and leaflets and the diffusion of such information it was resolved to appoint an Editorial Secretary, and pending the appointment of a suitable person with experience of the London Press, etc., Mr. J. B. Pennington and the Hon. Secretary were authorized to perform the duties of the editorial secretariat, while it was further decided that nothing should be published without the previous concurrence of the Literary Committee. This Committee have already approved of the publication of a series of five leaflets, and some 7,000 copies of these have been distributed.

Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Mr. Krishna Gobinda Gupta, and Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., were appointed Vice-Chairmen of Council during the year under report, but the Council have, unfortunately, had to deplore the loss of the services of Sir Charles Stevens, who died suddenly on March 27, 1909. He had not been a member of this Association very long, but he took a deep interest in its affairs, and devoted time and attention to its service. His sudden death has deprived the Council of an eminent and able fellow-worker. By order of the Council a letter of condolence was addressed to Lady Stevens conveying the sympathy of this Association in her sad bereavement.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., was unanimously appointed Vice-Chairman *vice* Sir Charles Stevens, and Major

Sinha, I.M.S., has been elected to fill the vacant seat in Council. Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., resigned his seat on the Council on account of pressure of work, and has been nominated one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., and Mr. S. S. Thorburn have been appointed Trustees of the property of the Association, and new trust-deeds have been drawn up by the Hon. Solicitor to the Association vesting all present and future securities, etc., belonging to the Association in the names of these Trustees.

The following papers were read during the year before the Association :

*June 11, 1908.*—H. R. James, Esq., M.A., “The Implications of University Reform in Bengal.” Theodore Morison, Esq., in the chair.

*November 3, 1908.*—John Pollen, Esq., C.I.E., LL.D., “The Indian Student in England.” The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*December 1, 1908.*—Charles William McMinn, Esq., “The Wealth and Progress of India: Facts and Fiction.” Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*January 27, 1909.*—F. J. E. Spring, Esq., “Indian Industrial Development.” Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., in the chair. (Paper read by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.).

*March 2, 1909.*—A. E. Duchesne, Esq., “Race, Creed, and Politics in India.” Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*March 22, 1909.*—R. F. Chisholm, Esq., “Indian Industrial Development.” The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

Four out of these six papers dealt directly or indirectly with the important subject of Education, and especially Industrial Education in India.

Mr. Spring's paper (which was prefaced and read by Sir Arundel T. Arundel) urged the necessity for "three-dimensional education"—*i.e.*, hand-education as well as education by the ear and eye); and Lord Reay, the President of this Association, who occupied the chair when Mr. Chisholm read his paper, alluded in terms of high appreciation to the admirable speech delivered by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, on "Industrialism" in 1908, at the inauguration of the new Bank of Baroda.

Agreeing with Mr. Chisholm and Mr. Spring, His Lordship advocated the extension of industrial, technical, scientific, and agricultural training side by side with classical and literary education.

Mr. Charles McMinn's paper on the "Wealth and Progress of India" showed conclusively, by overwhelming facts and figures, that the charge that England deliberately "strangled" India's industries is absolutely void of truth, and that so far as the Land Tax is concerned it is moderate, being, according to the Famine Commission, 7 per cent. of the gross produce, varying from 3 per cent. in Bengal to 20 per cent. in Gujarat.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, and are eligible for re-election :

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B.,  
G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.

Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I.

Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G.

Mr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D.

Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.

Sir Henry Seymour King, K.C.I.E., M.P.

One hundred and seven gentlemen have been elected Members of the Association since the beginning of the year under report.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I. (Vice-Chairman).  
Maharana Mansingjee, Raja of Baria.  
H.H. Mir Sir Faiz Muhammad Khan Talpur, G.C.I.E.,  
Mir of Khairpur.  
Samuel J. Stone, Esq.

And the resignation of the following gentlemen :

J. H. W. Arathoon, Esq.  
Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I.  
Colonel W. R. M. Holroyd.

The income for the year ending April 30, 1909 (including balance at bankers' and cash in hand of £137 17s. 1d.), amounted to £659 os. 6d. Expenditure, £473 10s. 8½d. Balance at bankers' and in hand, £185 9s. 9½d.

Subscriptions from Members have been steadily increasing. In 1906 they amounted to £87 2s. 6d.; in 1907, £138; in 1908, £334 17s. 6d.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

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### THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES: REPORT. FOR 1907 BY THE RESIDENT-GENERAL.

SIR,

This Report, on the whole, is a very satisfactory official document, and I am gratified to note the continued progress made by these Native States from year to year. When one considers that it was only in 1895 that the rulers of the four states of Perak, Selangore, Negasi Sambilom, and Pahang signed the Treaty of Federation, it is more than remarkable to read of their rapid and continued prosperity.

I can only glance at the work done by the Executive Government, carried on under British Residents in the various branches of the Administration. Especially would I note that while in the year 1895 the revenue of these States amounted to \$8,481,007, it rose in 1907 to \$28,793,745, and that while the value of the imports in the former year stood at \$22,653,291, and the exports at \$31,622,805, they showed an advance respectively in 1907 to \$52,542,277 and \$80,493,196.

Referring to the fact that at the outset these States depended mostly for their revenue on their mineral resources, it is satisfactory to find that the attention of the authorities has been given more to agriculture, and that the Resident-General is able to report in 1907 that there was an increase of land under cultivation, divided chiefly into coconut, rubber, and coffee. In the former there were 112,560 acres planted, in rubber 126,235 acres, and in coffee 10,835 acres. The number of rubber estates amounted to 287, the number of trees was close on 20,000,000, and the additions in 1907 aggregated 40,473 acres.

Both road and railway communications throughout these States has been consistently maintained. There were 491 miles of railway open for traffic, and the aggregate net profits from the opening of the railway in 1885 to the end of 1907 were at the rate of 3·60 per cent. on net earnings.

I suppose your space does not admit of reference to the other items in this interesting Report, such as surveys and public works, but I have given sufficient to show to your readers how well the public affairs of these Federated States are being managed under the residential system of government, whereby the rulers are advised in the collection of the revenue and in the general administration.

McNAIR.

#### THE CHINESE "TAXI-CAB."

SIR,

In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, Professor E. H. Parker, of the University of Manchester, accuses me of having taken the credit of discovering the Chinese "taxi-cab," which credit, he seems to think, should properly be divided between (1) Professor Hirth, (2) himself, (3) Professor Chavannes, and (4) the late Dr. Chalmers. May I be allowed to point out that I have never either said or written a word which in any way justifies this statement; although, as I shall hope to make clear, such a claim might not be altogether unjustifiable.

i. On p. 380 Professor Parker says :

"My colleague, Professor F. Hirth, of Columbia University, New York, even mentions the 'taxi-cab' with its cog-wheels and diameters in A.D. 806." (See "Ancient History of China," pp. 126-136, for a summing-up.)

In reply to this I beg to state not only that there is no such allusion anywhere in the work quoted, but also that I have received the following denial from Professor Hirth himself :

"I am not aware that I ever wrote a line on the subject, either in my notes on the Mariner's Compass ('The Ancient History of China,' pp. 126-136) or elsewhere."

2. Professor Parker proceeds to say :

"In the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1906 (vol. xxxvii., p. 179), I made specific allusion to both the *Ki-li Ch'ü* (recording-miles cart), and the *Ki-li Ku-ch'ü* (recording-miles drum-cart), the Chinese characters for which are given, and which, it is there clearly pointed out, differed considerably from the south-pointer."

Here are Professor Parker's actual words, which he refrains from reproducing :

"In 815 a new 'south-pointing chariot' (*chih nan chü*) was constructed (*hsin tsao*) in order to mark the distance and time (*chi li ku*) : it is evident this was no compass. But in 820 there is a second notice which seems to suggest two separate instruments (*hsiu chih nan chü chi li ku chü*)."

Such is the whole of Professor Parker's own contribution to the subject in 1906, from which it is chiefly apparent that he then thought the "south-pointing chariot" and the "measure-mile drum-carriage" were one and the same "instrument," a mistake which he now passes over.

3. On p. 381 Professor Parker continues as follows :

"The drum-cart . . . figures in several plates of Professor Chavannes' interesting work, 'La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine.'"

Here is Professor Chavannes' view, conveyed in a letter which I have recently received from him :

"Sur un des bas-reliefs du Hiao T'ang chan ('Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine,' planche xxxvii.), on voit un char où sont assis quatre musiciens ; au centre du char, une poutre soutient un tambour sur lequel deux hommes frappent à coups redoublés ; mais je ne crois pas que ce char ait rien de commun avec le 'taxi-cab.'"

4. It is quite true that Dr. Chalmers wrote the few lines which Professor Parker quotes, and which I now reproduce :

"Next (*i.e.*, to the south-pointing chariot) followed another machine of similar construction, drawn by four horses, in which a wooden man beat a drum every time a mile of road was gone over." [The sketch given by Dr. Chalmers refers only to the south-pointing chariot, though Professor Parker would make it appear to refer to the "taxi-cab."]

I may be allowed to add that these words were written in 1891, and therefore fifteen years before Professor Parker makes his "discovery." This passage does not seem to

me to be very exhaustive of the subject, but if Professor Parker considers that it is so, one naturally asks why he made no acknowledgment of it in his own note of 1906. He now declares that—

"The matter has already at intervals for twenty years past been thrashed out, so far as it is possible to thrash it out."

However that may be, in the autumn of 1908 I ventured to make a full translation of the most important passages in Chinese history dealing with the "taxi-cab," which passages *had never been translated before by anyone*. I then handed that portion containing an actual "specification" to Professor Hopkinson, who finally succeeded in setting up the "taxi-cab" as a working model. This was mentioned in the *Times* of January 22, and in the Engineering Supplement of the same paper, dated February 17, the specification was printed, and a photograph of the "taxi-cab" reproduced. The specification was also printed, together with other selected passages, and published in *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 7, on February 1, 1909, two months before the appearance of Professor Parker's article and his translations.

On consideration of the above, I might fairly claim, if I wanted to claim anything, to have established for the first time, with the important assistance of Professor Hopkinson, the interesting fact that the official account of the Chinese "taxi-cab," under date A.D. 1027, is not a fanciful description of an imaginary vehicle, but of one that will actually work!

HERBERT A. GILES,

*Professor of Chinese in the University*

*SELWYN GARDENS, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.*

CAMBRIDGE,

May 18, 1909.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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ALLGEMEINER VEREIN FÜR DEUTSCHE LITERATUR;  
BERLIN, 1909.

*I. Die Engländer in Indien: Reiseeindrücke von Graf von Koenigsmarck.* These are the impressions of Indian travel upon an intelligent German traveller, who has journeyed literally through the length and breadth of the land; for he landed at Tuticorin, and went north through Madras, Bombay, Delhi, etc., right into the Khyber Pass, and up to Malakand, thus going from the extreme south to the northernmost point of the Indian Empire; whilst, from West to East, he started from Chaman, on the border of Afghanistan, and finished up at Calcutta and Darjeeling. Thus Assam and Burma are the only two important provinces which he did not visit. Being the bearer of letters of introduction from the India Office in London, the author was assured of a welcome in high places wherever he went, and he appears to have been always the guest of Governors, Native Princes, Residents, Generals, and *tutte quanti*. His book is dedicated in English to Lady Blood, wife of General Sir Bindon Blood, with her portrait as a frontispiece, "in sincere admiration and reverence for the Englishwoman in India, to whom England owes not least of her position and power in the peninsula."

The work does not contain much that will be novel to Anglo-Indians, but it is well illustrated, has excellent descriptions of the places visited and of the people the author was thrown amongst, and should furnish pleasant and instructive reading for those of the author's compatriots who are not confirmed anglophobes. From our point of view, it is chiefly remarkable for its very sympathetic and cordial appreciation of everything done by the English in India.—H. A. B.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; HORÆ SEMITICÆ,  
No. VIII.

2. *Codex Climaci Rescriptus.* Fragments of sixth-century Palestinian Syriac Texts of the Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St. Paul's Epistles. Also fragments of an early Palestinian lectionary of the Old Testament, etc. Transcribed and edited by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S., LL.D., etc., with seven facsimiles. The above title denotes the contents of the volume which serves to fill up a gap in Christian Aramaic literature. The version of the New Testament, which it represents, was that adopted by the Orthodox, or Malkite party, which separated from the great Monophysite Church at the Council of Chalcedon, in A.D. 451. The curious way in which the MS., from which the text is given, came into the transcriber's hands, is interestingly told, and she looks forward in the confident hope that the whole of the New Testament will yet be found. A list of facsimiles under the term "climaci" are given. The Syriac and Greek texts are printed in excellent clear type; and the volume ought to encourage and stimulate farther research in this very interesting and important line of discovery.

CRANBOURNE PRINTING WORKS: BRIGHTON.

3. *Oral Traditions from the Indus.* Comprised in tales, to which are added explanatory notes; by Major J. F. A. McNAIR, R.A., C.M.G., and THOMAS LAMBERT BARLOW. Revised and corrected, 1908. This handsome volume contains information which is most interesting and valuable, in that it gives us a further insight into the manners, customs, thoughts, and traditions of the interesting part of the people of the north-western portion of the Indian Empire, as well as taking us back to the time when the country was part of a great Mohammedan Empire, far advanced in sciences, poetry, and learning. These folklore traditions have been handed down for generations

from father to son by professional bards and story-tellers, who recount the deeds of their warriors, and the virtues of their wise and good men, adapted to the localities in which they are recounted, besides being dispersed and carried far and wide to other countries following in the wake of invasions and conquering armies towards the west, even before the time of Alexander the Great, and dispersed amongst the nations of Eastern Europe, intermingled with the folklore traditions handed down to us at the present day in our Norse and Saxon folklore and tales. The book is beautifully printed in large type, and the illustrations are well executed.—THIRTY YEARS IN INDIA.

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LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET,  
LONDON, W.C.

4. *The Targum to the "Song of Songs": The Book of the Apple: The Ten Jewish Martyrs: A Dialogue on Games of Chance*; translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by HERMANN GOLLANZ, 1908. The title "Song of Songs" points to the existence of other "Songs" besides the one we find in our Bibles. It is said to have been the ninth of a series of "Songs," apparently of a pastoral kind. The Song of Solomon is here regarded as an allegorical outline of Jewish history from the time of the Exodus from Egypt to the advent of the Messiah and the expected building of the third Temple; and there is allusion to a tenth song to be sung by the children of the Exile in the days to come. The writer of the elaborate Aramaic paraphrase here presented in English dress, favours (if one may judge from internal evidence) the view that the Song of Songs was but the framework upon which to construct some higher and wider conception. This is the view adopted in Rabbinic tradition; the view that by the "Beloved" is meant *Jehovah*, while the "Bride" is *the Congregation of Israel*. This, the allegorical view of the Song, was the view adopted by Origen, and it has been almost universally received: the matrimonial metaphor so

frequently applied in the Jewish Scriptures to describe the relation between Jehovah and the Jews, and in the New Testament to describe the relation between Christ and His Church, is the strongest argument in support of the allegorical interpretation of the Song. Keeping this in view, we have in the present work the translation from the Aramaic dialect of a running Hagadic or allegorical commentary on the Song. A rendering into English of the successive verses of the Song is given, each verse being followed by the Targumist's interpretation. Our space will not admit of our giving a sample of this the Rabbinical way of interpreting : it may suffice to say, that there is a good deal in the exegesis which will be found interesting reading, as well to Christians as to Jews. All persons, whether of the Jewish or Christian persuasion, who are interested in the question of the *motif* of the Book of Canticles, commonly known as "the Song of Solomon," will find their inquiries discussed in a sympathetic spirit in this volume. Following that, the first section of the volume, will be found sections on "The Book of the Apple," "The Ten Jewish Martyrs," and "A Dialogue on Games of Chance," and other subjects—likewise translated from the same original tongues.—B.

54. *The Restorer of Favours, and the Restrainer of Chastisements.* By TĀJ-AD-DĪN ABU NASR ABD-AL-WAHHĀB AS-SUBKĪ. The Arabic text with an introduction and notes. Edited by DAVID W. MYHRMAN, Docent at the University of Uppsala.

This is the eighteenth volume of Luzac's Text and Translation. This series, the Semitic Text and Translation volume, is as usual printed in excellent type, and is based on eight manuscripts—four in Berlin, one in London, one in Gotha, and two in the Yale collections. There are, at least, five other manuscripts known of the work—one in Madrid, three in Cairo, and one in Paris. The volume contains a detailed account of the author and his ancestors. He attained great celebrity at an early age, and was "a

man of no compromise. He is set in his own ideas and clings to his own school. He was a pillar of the Sāfiite orthodoxy. He had no regard, no patience, and no mercy for the heretics. He opposed bitterly every kind of innovation in religious as well as in social life. But he was also just as uncompromising in his ideas and sense of moral life, right or wrong, most outspoken on matters of neglect, shortcomings, or wrongdoings, wherever found, whoever was concerned, high or low, friend or enemy. He was most exacting in regard to the discharge of duty, a stern advocate of simplicity, and denounced fiercely and mockingly extravagance and luxury. He seems to have been absolutely set, stern, and unyielding in what he considered right or wrong, unflinching in his outspokenness, seeming unmoved by any considerations, any influence. In the great trials of his life—trials that would naturally come to a man of such qualities, he also would manifest resolute courage and unshaken perseverance. His strong sense of justice with a kind heart, he was the champion of the humble, the needy, the wronged and the oppressed."

He was a copious writer during his short life, having died by the plague in his forty-fourth year. His works comprehend "subjects relating to jurisprudence, biography, traditions, Arabic grammar, some being written in prose and others in verse." Our space does not admit of giving farther details, and the reader is strongly recommended to study the volume for himself. There are copious notes giving the variants in the various manuscripts, which the translator has carefully compared. The pious Mahomedan will find much to edify and instruct, and the principles expounded are based on good living so as to secure divine guidance and favour.

JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.

6. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem: its History and its Structure*, by W. SHAW CALDECOTT, author of "The Tabernacle"; "Solomon's Temple." The author has pro-

duced, in a very simple way, a work which every Biblical student and reader will peruse with much interest, profit, and pleasure. It is largely occupied with the history of and the "architectural restoration of a building, the existence of which has not seldom been denied or forgotten"; and to help the reader, various drawings are given of the structure of the Temple. There is also a biography of the various prophets, such as Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, and of the various Governors of Jerusalem during the Babylonian exile. In the appendix there is Ezekiel's Temple plan, comparative topographical name-lists of Jerusalem, table of sections of the wall of Jerusalem, and a copious index. The reader will find the volume the newest and best commentary of this portion of Jewish history recorded or indicated in the Old Testament records.

7. *John Chinaman and a Few Others*, by E. H. PARKER, Professor of Chinese at the Victoria University of Manchester, formerly one of H.M. Consuls in the Far East, author of "China, her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce," etc. From the author's position in His Majesty's service he acquired an intimate knowledge of the habits and other characteristics of the Chinese people, and with a keen eye and a facile pen he has given us a most interesting story. The popularity of the book is evinced from the fact that it has reached a third edition at a cheap rate, so that the "many" may be able to possess a copy. It is full of excellent illustrations. The author in the preface to the present (third) edition says: "'John Chinaman' was originally intended to create a human sympathy for the still mysterious Chinese, and to show that, after all, they were in the main creatures exactly like ourselves, actuated by their own ideas of real honour, real kindness, real fidelity, and real affection. The book was also intended, in part, as a reply to those critics who had complained of the general unreliability of all purely serious treatment of Chinese affairs. I am proud to say

that several scientific and professional men personally unknown to me have written to thank me for having contributed a note to the gaiety of nations in publishing 'John Chinaman'; and I have reason to believe that at least one of them used it as Darwin is stated to have used Mark Twain's 'Innocents Abroad'—as a means of securing sleep in a jolly frame of mind when he feels overwrought." We have much pleasure in strongly recommending this interesting and fascinating work. It is accompanied with a glossary and a copious index.

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ORANGE JUDD COMPANY, NEW YORK. KEGAN PAUL,  
TRENCH, TRUBNER, AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *The Book of Wheat. An Economic History and Practical Manual of the Wheat Industry.* By PETER TRACY DONDLINGER, PH.D., formerly Professor of Mathematics in Fairmount College. Probably the most complete history of the wheat plant and industry in existence. It is well illustrated. The author in his preface tells us, that "while many important works are available that cover certain phases of the wheat industry very adequately, and a few which cover a number of phases very admirably for the limited space that is devoted to them, there is, however, no general work treating the entire subject as completely and extensively as is merited by the industry which furnishes the most staple food of the civilized world. Unquestionably the need of such a book on wheat is patent." The volume is the outcome of fifteen years' experience and studious research, and is invaluable to growers, dealers, millers, and all others connected in any way with this important branch of industry. The completeness of the work may be gleaned from the title of the chapters into which it is divided, viz.: Wheat Grain and Plant; Improvement; Natural Environment; Cultivation; Harvesting; Yield and Cost of Production; Crop Rotation and Irrigation; Fertilizers; Diseases; Insect Enemies;

Transportation; Storage; Marketing; Prices; Milling; Consumption; Production and Movement; Classification of Wheat; Bibliography (which occupies no fewer than 32 pages); and a minute and concise index. The work is designed not only for the farmer, the teacher, and the student, but also for those who are interested in practical agriculture, considering that the cultivation of wheat may be traced back to prehistoric ages.

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SOUTH AFRICA : CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, LTD. ; CAPE TOWN.

9. *The Government of South Africa*, vols. i. and ii. These two large volumes, with maps, diagrams, and statistical tables of various kinds, have been carefully compiled and prepared in order to give ample materials for solving the problem as to the kind of government which ought to be adopted for the whole of British South Africa. The author of the preface states that "the new order should be made from the materials of the old, and before a better and simpler arrangement can be evolved, the existing systems in all their diversity, and with all their defects, must be clearly comprehended. There are a certain number of men in each colony who have taken part in its affairs and understand them; but they must understand the administration of neighbouring Colonies as well, in order to discuss any project for uniting them all under a single government." The various persons who have shared in producing these volumes are not drawn from any one political school or party, and they have been joined in the work only by a common aspiration that the people of South Africa may become one. The authors do not propose in these pages to formulate a definite scheme of union, but rather to provide information which will enable the reader to discuss such schemes whenever advanced. Nor do they intend to commit those who have been associated with them to any particular view expressed in the book. Such

views there are, and, indeed, must be, seeing that it is impossible to give a complete account of the problems of South African government without touching on several contentious points. The object of the book is attained in so far as it provokes discussion."

"Such being the purpose and origin of the book, the plan upon which it has been carried out may now be stated. There are no less than eleven different areas of government in South Africa, and an account of them all in their various aspects, administrative and judicial, financial and political, would fill an encyclopædia, overwhelming the reader with detail, and leaving no clear impression upon his mind. If the proposed inquiry is to effect its object, the picture at all costs must be definite, even at the sacrifice of completeness in detail. The outlines must be firmly drawn, and the draughtsmen must select what is essential, and forgo much that is interesting and even important. They must aim at producing an account short enough and yet not too closely compressed to be read. With this end in view, the first volume has been cleared of much tedious, but necessary detail, which has been relegated to a second volume of appendices, in the form of memoranda, diagrams, tables, and maps."

This information is multifarious, by tables and many well-executed diagrams and maps—for example, areas, populations, electoral districts, finance, railways, education, and judicial systems; in short, all the materials fitted to enable our statesmen to conceive a solution, or what ought to be done to bring about one united government for a British South African Commonwealth or Dominion.

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UNWIN BROTHERS, LTD. ; LONDON, 1909.

10. *Sermons and Addresses*, by Dr. HERRMANN GOLLANZ. In these treatises the excellent Rabbi deals with a variety of subjects, all of which are deeply interesting to all Bible students. Among the subjects are: "The

Place of Religion in the World," "The Creed of the Jew," "The Return of the Jews to Palestine," etc. The treatment is thoughtful, learned, and devout; it is, however, too much to expect that any Christian whose acquaintance with the New Testament is anything more than nominal, will be converted to Judaism by studying these homilies, highly interesting though they are. The subjects dealt with in these discourses are many of them suggested by passing events, a circumstance which enhances considerably the interest of them to the reader. For instance, an article of Mr. Gladstone's, in which he touches on the subject of the hebdomadal Rest-day, suggests to Dr. Gollancz a treatise on "The Sabbath" from the Jewish point of view; while even the deliverances of the present occupant of the City Temple pulpit form the groundwork of other discourses. Altogether the volume includes some eighty homilies, and these are followed by several contributions on a variety of subjects, of a less pronouncedly exegetical nature, of interest to the author's congregation. Excepting that the distinguished Rabbi writes as a representative of his own nation, there is not much in these treatises to which an intelligent Christian reader would take exception; and as showing the views held in the present day by a typical member of the posterity of Abraham, the volume will have an interest of its own for readers beyond the pale of Judaism. It would have lent an additional interest to this volume if it had contained an exposition of some of the points of doctrine and dogma in which the Jew differs from the Christian; such, for example, as the Jewish view of the doctrine of the "Inspiration" of the Scripture writers, of the apparent longevity of the people during the Patriarchal period, of the light in which the Israelite regards the Herodian dynasty, of the Jewish view of the condition hereafter of those who die unrepentant. On these and similar matters, which are of interest no less to the Christian than to the Jew, the views of so representative a teacher as Dr. Gollancz would have invested this

volume with a still greater interest to a public which is outside the community whose benefit he, in the first instance, had more particularly in view. But, even so, the volume is well fitted for the wider circle of readers, and might be perused with profit by all Christians of earnest mind. These expositions of Jewish doctrine will, we doubt not, be highly prized by members of the House of Israel ; in a different sense will they be valued also by non-Jewish readers, who would enlarge their acquaintance with those interpretations of the Old Testament writings which are held by Jews. Although a Jew, and orthodox to the core, the author of these treatises is not narrow in sentiment or in sympathies. They serve as an excellent illustration of the fact, too often overlooked, that one may be true to his creed and yet not be the subject of as much as a *touch* of bitterness towards those of a different orthodoxy. He speaks of a copy of the New Testament having been found in somebody's "locker" in the Synagogue ; but judging from the frequency with which he cites from the New Testament (though without quotation marks !), and also verses from hymns written by Evangelical Christians, it would seem that he has in *his* "locker" other books besides the Hebrew Bible. His errors in English are rather too frequent, but these he will correct in future issues.—B.

WITHERBY AND CO., LONDON ; 1908.

II. *The Far East Re-visited*, by A. GORTON ANGIER ; with a preface by SIR ROBERT HART. This book has well earned the privilege of being vouched for by so distinguished a sponsor, who introduces Mr. Angier's venture in the following words : "He had the advantage of re-visiting that important quarter at a time when the new forces let loose by this century were and are arranging themselves in logical continuity for further evolution, and what he has said of the condition and doings brought to his notice is well worth the attention both of students and practical men, and will also be found informing and

interesting by the general reader. He had seen the localities and people before, and was accordingly able to illuminate both past and present with each other's light, so that the comparison thus made gives additional value to all he writes, whether as record or forecast."

These restrained and measured words are by no means mere conventional talk, obligingly uttered in order to further the objects of a personal friend. Mr. Angier's book is really one of absorbing interest to one who knew nearly all the places described in the good old sleepy days before the "forces" hinted at by Sir Robert Hart had been disengaged from the mass of chemical element with which they were then merged; before America had stepped into the shoes of Spain, Japan into those of Russia, and now China herself into the shoes of the vulture-like syndicates who were ten years ago seeking to devour her apparently putrid carcass.

As that hard-headed Scotchman, Mr. G. Jamieson, C.M.G., dryly remarked at the China Society's meeting a few weeks ago, when all the musty sinologues were airing their views upon a paper touching upon certain Confucian events: "What we want to know nowadays is not so much how China looked 2,000 years ago, but what are her prospects now." It was in much the same spirit that that practical sinologist, Mr. Barney McKean, on being consulted about the Roman Orient and certain discoveries made in old Chinese books once replied: "Put the whole lot into the fire." At all events, Mr. Angier has now given exactly what they want to those persons who do not wish to be bothered with antiquity and academic history, but simply desire to know what is actually going on in the Far Eastern division of this work-a-day world of ours. The *Times* this week (June 7) has been treating us to an excellent leading article upon Philistinism, and, for better or for worse, there can be no doubt that, so far as both young China and China's would-be civilizers are concerned, nearly every one is at present a Philistine, in the sense that he wishes to have

done with the tiresome old funeral baked meats, and desires to serve up entirely new dishes.

Mr. Angier's excellent volume deals not only with those capital ships, China, Japan, Corea, and Russia, but also with the submarines and subsidiary craft—North Borneo, the Malay States, Manila, the Straits Settlements, Netherlands, India, and "Progressive Siam." There is no padding or literary clap-trap in the book at all; every picture drawn is the result of personal observation, and is sketched quite true to life. More particularly interesting, however, are the chapters on the New Spirit in China, Railways, Foreign Mining, Peking Politics, and the Anti-Opium Crusade. When one reflects upon the abject condition of China only ten short years ago, when after the Japanese War she was apparently resigning herself to be carved up into "spheres" by the glutinous European Powers, it is marvellous to contemplate the multifarious activities now in actual working, the transformations which have taken place in Government arrangements, and, in short, as Sir Robert Hart puts it, the "forces" already let loose.

We had marked a few places for "censure" or correction (for what is the use of being a critic unless you can show your omniscience?); but really there is nothing of any importance in the whole book that deserves condemnation. A sketch map of the Malay Peninsula and Siam would not have come amiss to illustrate Chapter V. There are a few instances of what Dr. Johnson would call "ignorance, sir, sheer ignorance," as, for instance, "relict" instead of "relic" on p. 83. On the other hand, there are not a few profound remarks of great sagacity, which entirely purge petty literary offences; besides, even Sir Robert Hart gives us a "false nominative" in the third sentence of his preface. One of Mr. Angier's most striking truths is uttered on p. 138: "It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance, that the more the country is open to foreign trade, the more are the provinces deprived of their revenue." Wise remarks of this kind ought to be taken seriously to heart by those who

are chiveying on China too quickly. She ought not to be hustled too much. As Mr. Chichen Lofénglu remarked at a certain Lord Mayor's banquet : "We cannot well pull the house about our ears, rotten though it may be ; we must have some place to live in whilst the new construction is taking place."

E. H. PARKER.

12. *Livingstone College, Leyton, London. Annual Report for Year 1907-08.* The annual report of Livingstone College, which was presented to the annual general meeting of members on Tuesday, December 8, 1908, is by far the most satisfactory report which has been issued since the College was founded fifteen years ago. The number of students who entered is by far the largest on record, being an average of thirty for each of the three terms ; rather more than half of this number entered for the full session others for one or two terms. The fact that Livingstone College, which exists for giving elementary medical training, has no denominational or national prejudices may be shown from the fact that the students included representatives of the Church Missionary Society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Baptist Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, Friends' Foreign Mission Association, Sudan United Mission, Strict Baptist Missionary Society whilst students from the Continent represented Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

The financial statement is particularly satisfactory, the year commencing with a deficiency of £404 11s. 6d., which has all been paid off with the exception of £38 13s. 4d., and in addition to the ordinary receipts a legacy of £50 has been placed to the capital account. The working expenses of the year have been practically met by the fees of students, showing that if a sufficiently large number of resident students enter for a full session the College might be self-supporting. From this it will be seen that the great need

of the college is a regular supply of students to take advantage of the facilities which are there afforded for elementary medical training, though contributions are still needed for the general fund or to pay off the mortgage of £3,500 which still exists upon the property.

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#### PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

*The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*, by MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE. In six volumes. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.) This most interesting and valuable work will be published shortly. The following extract from the Preface indicates what the six volumes contain. The author says: "I bring from the East what is practically an unknown religion. The Sikhs are distinguished throughout the world as a great military people, but there is little known even to professional scholars regarding their religion. I have often been asked by educated persons in countries which I have visited, and even in India itself, what the Sikh religion was, and whether the Sikhs were Hindus, idolaters or Muhammadans. This ignorance is the result of the difficulty of the Indian dialects in which their sacred writings are contained. . . .

"There were no dictionaries of the Granth Sahib, or sacred book of the Sikhs, when the author commenced his labours. . . . For these reasons it is necessary for the translator of the Sikh sacred writings to reside for long years in India, and work with the assistance of the few gyanis, or professional interpreters of the Sikh canonical writings, who now survive. It would probably be an exaggeration to say that there are ten such men in the world. Of these few or none is capable of giving an English interpretation. They generally construe in tedious paraphrases in their own local dialects. But more than this, there is hardly any one Sikh who is capable of making a correct translation of his sacred writings. . . .

"Until the year 1893 I was engaged in judicial duties in India. In that year representative Sikh societies, knowing that I appreciated their literature, requested me to resign my appointment and undertake a translation of their sacred works. I acceded to their requests. My first intention was to make only a translation. This occupied my time for several years. It was prepared on what, I believe, is entirely a novel plan. Most translators, when they have completed their renderings, proceed to publish without subjecting their work to native criticism. On this account there are few, if any, translations of Oriental works made in Europe, even by the most eminent scholars, which are accepted by the learned natives of the East. I resolved that mine should be an exception, and accordingly submitted every line of my work to the most searching criticism of learned Sikhs. This was done either by rough printed proofs or typed copies. I also published invitations in Sikh newspapers to all whom it might concern to visit me, inspect, and, if necessary, correct my translation."

MESSRS. LUZAC AND CO., of London, will publish very shortly a small volume on *Islam: Her Moral and Spiritual Value*, written by MAJOR A. G. LEONARD, to which the well-known Moslem and distinguished writer on Islam and Mohammedan Law, SYED AMEER ALI, M.A, C.I.E., has written a preface, in which he speaks very highly of Major Leonard's performance as an admirable psychological and eminently philosophical study of a subject not only peculiarly interesting, but the importance of which it is hardly possible to overrate—a monograph, in fact, by which he has placed the world of literature under a debt. Personally, he has derived both pleasure and profit from its perusal, and has received many new ideas as to points of view which do not commonly strike one writing from within. Not only will it give food for thought to the open-minded, but even to prejudiced readers.

Major Leonard has dealt with the subject in the broadest

spirit of sympathy and knowledge from an intimate association with races and people who are Moslems. He dispels the absurdity and hollowness of the Pan-Islamic bogey, and proves conclusively that it is no political movement, but that Islam, in her very essence, is Pan-Islamic. In his appreciation of Mohammed's teaching, Ameer Ali considers that Major Leonard has grasped the real spirit of Islam, and has given the great Arabian prophet his just due. Altogether this little work is a volume that should commend itself to thinkers and readers of every shade of opinion, but especially, of course, to all enlightened and intelligent Moslems.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The India Office List for 1909, compiled from Official Records by Direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council.* (Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall, London.) This excellent compilation is essential to everyone who has in any way connection with the public services of India. To this edition there is added a descriptive account of India, re-written and compiled from the *Imperial Gazette of India* (new edition), and the statistics have been brought up to date as far as possible. A list of recipients of Kaisar-i-Hind medals of the 2nd class has also been added.

*Some Reminiscences of Three-Quarters of a Century in India*, by a MUTINY VETERAN. (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) The author dedicates this short history to his two sons, Major D. W. Churcher, Royal Irish Fusiliers, and Captain B. T. Churcher, late the Queen's Regiment. This plain and pleasing history brings us back to a certain portion of the serious times of 1857-58 in India. The author took part—little known to the general public—in upholding the honour of our country and keeping the grand old flag flying among all the dangers and heroic deeds in which he was wonderfully preserved. As a Justice of the Peace he saw much of the corruption of the higher and middle-class natives, and the oppression of the poor, and it would be well if the so-called nationalists and reformers would study and inwardly digest this short but important brochure. In that respect the administration of law, justice, and order by the British Government has been unique, and incomparable to any other system which exists in the world.

*History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. GIBB, M.R.A.S. Vol. V., edited by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. (Luzac and Co., London.) This volume brings to a close the publication of the author, now rendered accessible

to the Orientalist, the scholar, the student of literary history, and the general reader. Some time ago we had the pleasure of referring to the previous volumes.

THE GIBB MEMORIAL SERIES. (Published by Luzac and Co., London, and E. J. Brill, Leyden.) Vol. VI., Part I. *Dictionary of Learned Men of Yaqut*, edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, Vols. I. and II. Great pains have been taken by the editor to give as correct a text as possible. Additions to the text have been more often suggested in the notes than actually inserted, and conjectural emendations of the consonants have in most cases been relegated to the margin. Of the variants in printed books a selection only has been given.

Vol. VIII.—*The Marzubán-Náma*: A Book of Fables, originally compiled in the dialect of Tabaristan, and translated into Persian by SA'DU 'D-DÍN-I-WARÁWÍNI. The Persian text edited by MÍRZÁ MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABDU 'L-WAHHÁB of Oazwin. This old Persian story-book has thus been published for the first time. The original is based on six manuscripts—three in the British Museum, two in Paris, and one in possession of one of the deputies of the late Majlis-Hájji Sayyid Naṣru'lláh. This manuscript, although quite modern, is good, and contains copious annotations added by the owner. All lovers of Persian literature and students of folklore will be grateful to Mírzá Muhammad for having supplied them with a critical and carefully edited text of this ancient and hitherto unpublished and inaccessible book.

Vol. III.—*The Pearl-Strings*: A History of the Resúliyy Dynasty of Yemen, by 'ALIYYU' BNU'L-HASÁN 'EL-KHAZREJÍYY. Translation and text, with annotations and index, by the late SIR J. W. REDHOUSE, LITT.D. (CAMB.). Edited by E. G. BROWNE, R. A. NICHOLSON, and A. ROGERS; Vol. II. containing the second half of the translation. This volume contains the contents of Vol. II, and a separate volume contains annotations on the present

volume. The two brother tribes of 'Eros and Khazrej settled at Medina long before the days of Muḥammad as emigrants from the neighbourhood of Mekka, whither their ancestors had come from Yemen after the bursting of the great Dam of Me'rib. These two tribes were the first supporters of Muḥammad and his new religion of 'Islām at Medina when he was compelled to flee from his native city Mekka, from the virulence of his pagan persecutors. All the volumes of this series are exceedingly well printed, and the texts are in a very clear type.

*A Zoological Lexicon.* Translated from the Arabic by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (retired), Hon. Fellow of the University of Bombay, Vol. I. Vol. II., Part I. (London : Luzac and Co. Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co.) In the introduction of these two volumes it is stated that they are the first attempt in Arabic literature to give in a systematic form the mass of the knowledge of the animal kingdom, which the Arabs had at first acquired in their desert home, and which they had expanded as their conquest carried them far and wide to other and more distant regions. It is full of interesting and curious information about the animal kingdom. Each article generally begins with a definition of the name of the animal and its grammatical and philological aspects. This is followed by a description of the animal and its habits, and an enumeration of its species or varieties.

*Semitic Magic: Its Origins and Development*, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A. (Cantab.). (Luzac and Co., London. 1908.) This is the third volume of Messrs. Luzac's "Oriental Religious Series." The book is based on a study of demonology, which was gradually developed through Western Asia. The author considers that "the earliest written records of this magic are found in the cuneiform incantation tablets from Assyria; and, aided by the various stepping-stones afforded by Rabbinic tradition, Syriac monkish writings, and Arabic tales, we can trace its growth and decadence through three thousand years down."

to its survival in modern Oriental superstition." The volume exhibits great research, but his deductions regarding miracles recorded in the sacred Scriptures are very doubtful, and even absurd in the face of well-authenticated evidence.

THE WISDOM OF THE EAST SERIES.—*Sadi's Scroll of Wisdom.* (John Murray, London.) Persian and English text, with introduction by SIR ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, K.C.I.E. Sir Arthur, in his excellent introduction, gives a short history of Sadi, whose "Scroll of Wisdom" has not appeared in English "during the last hundred years (Gladwin's text, in itself somewhat imperfect, was issued with an appended translation in 1806), though in Bombay about twenty years ago an Indian scholar rendered it into English. Both works are out of print, and for all practical purposes it may be said that a translation is not procurable by the British public. Hence the value of this little book."

*The Confessions of Al Ghazzali.* Translated for the first time into English by CLAUD FIELD, M.A. In Mr. Field's introduction the history of Ghazzali is sketched, and provides the Sufis with a "metaphysical terminology which he had derived from the writings of Plotinus, the Neo-Platonist. He also gave them a secure position in the Church of Islam."

*A Lute of Jade.* Being Selections from the Classical Poets of China. Rendered with an introduction by L. CRANMER-BYNG, author of "The Odes of Confucius." The writer gives an eloquent introduction of interesting selections of Chinese poetry from the "twilight of history" some 1,700 years before the Christian era. The selections will be read with interest and pleasure.

*The Grateful Dead:* The History of a Folk Story, by GORDON HALL GEROULD, B.LITT. (Oxon), Preceptor in English in Princeton University. (Daniel Nutt, Long Acre, London. 1908.) The volume is interesting from its introduction and the full bibliography of the numerous variants of the story of "The Grateful Dead." Among

the chapters into which the work is divided are "The Poison Maiden," "The Ransomed Woman," "The Water of Life," "The Relations of the Grateful Dead to the Spendthrift Knight, the Two Friends, and the Thankful Beasts." The story of "The Grateful Dead" is based upon the belief in the sacred duty of burial and incidents connected with it. The work is interesting to all who make a special study of folklore in the various parts of the world, ancient and modern.

*A Practical Arabic Grammar.* Part II. Compiled by COLONEL A. O. GREEN, author of "Modern Arabic Stories," etc. Fourth edition, enlarged and revised. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) As an evidence of the excellence and usefulness of this grammar is the fact that the first edition of Part I. was exhausted in nine months. The selections in Part II. have been made with great care, with a view to a progressive course of reading, to be extended at the discretion of the student. The short series of facsimile letters are nearly all reproductions of actual petitions and letters. There is a concise vocabulary of English-Arabic and Arabic-English, and a comparative table of classical and modern Arabic forms and expressions. The work (Parts I. and II.) will prove exceedingly useful to the English student in his first attempt to acquire a knowledge of the language. The type is clear, and could not be improved.

*Christianity and Islam,* by C. H. BEKER, PH.D., Professor of Oriental History in the Colonial Institute of Hamburg. Translated by REV. H. J. CHAYTOR, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College. (Harper and Brothers, London and New York.) This work forms one of "Harper's Library of Living Thought," and contains a remarkable examination of the doctrines of Islam and its history and developments, with those of the Christian religion, devoting his examination "particularly to the influences which Christianity and Islam exerted directly upon one another." The researches of the author deserve

to be studied by everyone who is interested in this branch of religious history.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society.* Proceedings in February, March, and April, 1909. (Printed for the Society.) The proceedings of this Society continue to be of great interest. The present report contains, among others, articles on "Finland To-day," "Anti-militarism in Russia," "Russia and Esperanto," "Christianity in Mongolia," and "Sokol Movement."

*Effects of War on Property.* Being Studies in International Law and Policy. By ALMA' LATIFI, M.A., LL.D., of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law; with a note on "Belligerent Rights at Sea," by JOHN WESTLAKE, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., sometime Whewell Professor of International Law, Cambridge. (Macmillan and Co., St. Martin's Street, London. 1909.) A collection of studies on the subject of property in its various forms as affected by a state of war. It discusses the question of public property of the enemy, if found within a belligerent's own territory, or if it can be carried off to it; private property of the enemy's subjects on land, if directly useful to either belligerent; public and private property of the enemy at sea, except when covered by a neutral flag. Dr. Westlake's note is valuable, on "Belligerent's Rights at Sea." The discussion of the various subjects contained in the volume is interesting to all students of International Law.

*The Making of Modern Egypt,* by SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN, K.C.S.I., etc. (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh, London, Dublin, and New York.) Frontispiece: Lord Cromer. This well-got-up and handy volume contains a concise and accurate compilation of Lord Cromer's invaluable Annual Reports and other Blue Books on Egypt and important information furnished by friends of the author and other officials in Egypt. It will prove an excellent textbook for the general reader as well as for the student who desires to acquire an accurate knowledge of the history of modern Egypt.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1909 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*The Income Tax Incubus and the Budget*, by T. Hallett Fry (London: Horace Cox, Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, E.C., 1909);—*The Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1907-1908* (Government Central Press, Bombay);—*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1906-1907*. Part I.: Administrative (Government Central Press, Simla);—*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*: No. 2, "Memoir written by Adrian Mocus"; No. 3, "Memoir of Commander Fredrik Cunes"; No. 4, "Historical Account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan"; No. 5, "Memoir of Johan Gerard van Angelbeck" (Government Printing Press, Madras);—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay*

*Presidency for the Year 1907-1908* (Government Central Press, Bombay);—*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1908*, vol. xlvi. (Government Central Press, Bombay).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *The Tajārib Al-umam; or, History of Ibn Miskawayh*, with a preface by Leone Caetani, printed for the trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. i. (Leyden: E. J. Briel; London: Luzac and Co.);—*An Independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri*, by L. Belleli (London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Splendour of God*, being extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahais, with an introduction by Eric Hammond (London: John Murray);—*Indian Dust*, by Otto Rothfeld, B.A., F.R.G.S. (Oxford: Alden and Co., Limited);—*Persian Self-Taught*, in Roman characters, with phonetic pronunciation, by Shayk Hasan (London: Marlborough and Co.);—*The Turkish People*, by Lucy M. J. Garnett (London: Methuen and Co.);—*Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, prepared by Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt);—*The English Factories in India, 1624-1629*, by William Foster (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA: GENERAL.**—General Sir O'Moore Creagh, v.c., of the Indian Army, succeeds Lord Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief in India, who resigns at the end of August.

It is understood that Major-General Douglas Haig, c.b., will succeed Lieutenant-General Sir Beauchamp Duff as Chief of the Staff in India.

The foundation-stone of the new Canning College at Lucknow was laid on April 1 by Sir John P. Hewett. The College will cost nearly £26,700. The Maharaja of Balrampore has given £20,000.

The financial statement of the Indian Government shows, as regards the year 1908-9, a decrease of net revenue, compared with the Budget estimate of £3,810,300, and an increase in expenditure £481,700. The revenue for the coming year is estimated at £73,750,900, and the expenditure at £73,520,000.

Pundit Sundar Lal, the first native Judge in Oudh, took his seat on May 18 as an addition Judicial Commissioner.

The total sum contributed to the Indian Famine Relief Fund was 10,48,967 rupees. Of this, 8,77,854 rupees was expended in grants, and the remaining balance of 1,71,112 rupees will be made over to the Indian Peoples Famine Trust.

Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, barrister-at-law, has been appointed an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India in succession to Sir H. E. Richards.

Mr. R. C. Dutt has been made Prime Minister of Baroda by the Gaekwar.

Mr. W. Tudball, of the Indian Civil Service, has become Judge of the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces, in the place of Mr. Robert S. Arkman, who has retired.

Lieutenant-General Sir Beauchamp Duff, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.I.E., will be Secretary in the Military Department at the India Office, when General Sir O'Moore Creagh leaves to assume his office as Commander-in-Chief in India.

The Maharaja Scindhia, of Gwalior, is appointed a member of the Indian Peoples Famine Trust.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Revenue Commissioner's Report for Mysore for the past official year states that the agricultural conditions in the State were greatly effected by the unfavourable character of the seasons. The north-east monsoon was more or less a failure, and the Vaisakhi crops suffered. The area cropped during the year fell from 6,030,485 acres in 1906-7, to 6,004,021 acres in 1907-8, in spite of an increased area in the under occupation by 61,769 acres. The value of exports of principal commodities is estimated at 3,07,27,582 rupees, and the value of imports at 3,31,84,118 rupees. This does not include the internal trade of the State itself. The land revenue demand for the year was 1,10,18,178 rupees, against 99,89,151 rupees in the previous year.

Lord Minto, on May 6, received a deputation from the States of Patiala, Sind, and Natha, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of their connection with the Government of India. The deputation declared that the first Lord Minto was the benefactor who saved the States at the most critical point in their history. The Viceroy warmly acknowledged the loyal address.

At a Durbar held by His Highness the Nawab of Junagarh the following concessions were announced by the Dewan : The remission of arrears of revenue amounting to about 1,25,000 rupees due from the agriculturists of the Una Mahal. The abolition of forced labour throughout the State. A gift of 20,000 rupees for the benefit of the cultivators who have suffered most by the recent severe outbreak of rinderpest, to enable them to purchase plough cattle. A reduction on the tax on the houses of non-agriculturists from 2,8,0 rupees to 1 rupee per house per

annum. A reduction of the police "varad" tax from 5 annas to 2 annas per house. A reduction of the "santi-varo" or cash assessment on land by one-eighth, or 2 annas in the rupee, wherever the assessment exceeds 11 rupees per "santi." A reduction of the ordinary rates of land assessment with a view to encourage the peasantry to cultivate waste lands.

**INDIA: FRONTIER.**—The Khaiber Pass has been closed to caravan traffic. Friendly remonstrances were addressed to the Ameer regarding the conduct of the local Afghan officials and their attitude at Torkam, which brought about the closing of the Pass. The Ameer replied in friendly terms, giving his assurance that the officials would be warned to be careful in future.

Eleven men of the Zhob levy were killed while on escort duty on April 23. They were returning by a narrow defile between Gustoi and Saradasga, when they were attacked by a strong party of armed men who were not known.

Captain Keene, the Commandant of the Northern Waziristan Militia, was shot on April 27 by a sepoy of the corps, who was at once arrested. Captain Keene received a serious wound.

A party of forty Zhob Cavalry under Lieutenant Crozier Lucas was attacked on May 8 by seventy Mahsuds at a spot three miles from Mir Ali Khel, a military post in Baluchistan. Three cavalry men were killed and one wounded.

This continued activity of raiding parties in the Mahsud and Zhob borderland emphasizes the growing danger resulting from the wholesale arming of tribesmen with modern rifles smuggled into Afghanistan from Muscat, making the roads of communication to the advanced military posts unsafe.

Afghan tribesmen armed with modern rifles assembled in large numbers and attacked the British subjects engaged in repairing the irrigation canal works on the British side of the frontier at Kharlachi in Khuram. Sir George Roos-

Keppel, with the Khuram Militia, protected the frontier at this point. On June 8 the irrigation dam, which was the chief object of the Afghan aggression, was restored, and Sir George Roos-Keppel withdrew from Kharlachi to Parachinar. It is expected that the Ameer will appoint a special Commissioner to assist Sir George to conclude a permanent settlement with respect to these constant frontier troubles.

AFGHANISTAN.—A plot against the Ameer was frustrated by a Mullah who had been the heir-apparent's tutor. Two of the ringleaders were blown from the guns, and many others were punished in the same way. This tended to prevent further trouble.

CEYLON.—Lord Morley has sanctioned the proposed Indo-Ceylon railway in connection with the project for making a viaduct across the Pamban Channel, and instituting a ferry between Danesh Rodi and Manar.

Mr. W. C. Magelssen has been appointed Consul of the United States at Colombo.

Straits Settlements.—The term of office of Mr. John Turner as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council has been extended for a further period of three years.

SIAM.—The Treaty between the British and Siamese Governments was signed at Bangkok on March 10. The operative part of the Treaty is as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The Siamese Government transfers to the British Government all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration, and control whatsoever which they possess over the States of Kelantan, Tringganu, Kedah, Perlis, and adjacent islands. The frontiers of these territories are defined by the Boundary Protocol annexed hereto.

ARTICLE 2. The transfer provided for in the preceding article shall take place within thirty days after the ratification of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 3. A mixed Commission, composed of Siamese and British officials and officers, shall be appointed within six months after the date of ratification of this Treaty, and shall be charged with the delimitation of the new frontier. The work of the Commission shall be commenced as soon as the season permits, and shall be carried out in accordance with the Boundary Protocol annexed hereto.

Subjects of His Majesty the King of Siam residing within the territory described in Article 1 who desire to preserve their Siamese nationality will,

during the period of six months after the ratification of the present Treaty, be allowed to do so if they become domiciled in the Siamese dominions. His Britannic Majesty's Government undertake that they shall be at liberty to retain their immovable property within the territory described in Article 1.

It is understood that in accordance with the usual custom where a change of suzerainty takes place, any Concessions within the territories described in Article 1 hereof to individuals or Companies, granted by or with the approval of the Siamese Government, and recognized by them as still in force on the date of the signature of the Treaty, will be recognized by the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

**ARTICLE 4.** His Britannic Majesty's Government undertake that the Government of the Federated Malay States shall assume the indebtedness to the Siamese Government of the territories described in Article 1.

**ARTICLE 5.** The jurisdiction of the Siamese International Courts, established by Article 8 of the Treaty of September 3, 1883, shall, under the conditions defined in the Jurisdiction Protocol annexed hereto, be extended to all British subjects in Siam registered at the British Consulates before the date of the present Treaty.

This system shall come to an end, and the jurisdiction of the International Courts shall be transferred to the ordinary Siamese Courts after the promulgation and the coming into force of the Siamese codes—namely, the Penal Code, the Civil and Commercial Codes, the Codes of Procedure, and the Law for organization of Courts.

All other British subjects in Siam shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Siamese Courts under the conditions defined in the Jurisdiction Protocol.

**ARTICLE 6.** British subjects shall enjoy throughout the whole extent of Siam the rights and privileges enjoyed by the natives of the country, notably the right of property, the right of residence and travel.

They and their property shall be subject to all taxes and services, but these shall not be other or higher than the taxes and services which are or may be imposed by law on Siamese subjects. It is particularly understood that the limitation in the Agreement of September 20, 1900, by which the taxation of land shall not exceed that on similar land in Lower Burmah, is hereby removed.

British subjects in Siam shall be exempt from all military service, either in the army or navy, and from all forced loans or military exactions or contributions.

**ARTICLE 7.** The provisions of all Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions between Great Britain and Siam, not modified by the present Treaty, remain in full force.

**ARTICLE 8.** The present Treaty shall be ratified within four months from its date.

**PERSIA.**—Persia during the last quarter has again passed through some very troublous times. Tabriz has been in the hands of the revolutionaries. The sufferings of the

town increased to such an extent that an armistice was granted in order that the Europeans should quit and food be procured. A Russian expedition of 2,600 men was sent into Persia, and proceeded to a place some distance from Tabriz in order to be ready if wanted.

The Shah, on May 5, issued a proclamation granting a Constitution to the people, and adding that the elections should be completed before July 19. In June the Shah signed two proclamations—one announcing that the Constitution is again to be applied, and the other granting a political amnesty. Thirty constitutionalists, in addition to the members of the Cabinet, were added to the Council of the Empire for the purpose of framing an electoral law.

Ala-el-Dowleh has been appointed Governor of Azerbaijan.

PERSIAN GULF.—Two important captures of dhows engaged in gun-running between Muscat and the Mekran coast were made in May by the small naval force employed to check this traffic. A large amount of ammunition was confiscated.

TURKEY.—The Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, was deposed on April 27, and Mahomed Reshad Effendi, his youngest brother, succeeded him under the name of Mahomed V. He was finally crowned on May 10.

Considerable fear was caused among the Young Turks and Armenians by a terrible massacre, which took place at Adana, by Baghadi, a Turkish landowner, who was entrusted with the important task of the distribution of the Government relief fund, by the new Vali of Adana. Baghadi led a band of armed men into the bazaar at Adana, and slaughtered the Armenians. Steps were taken to procure Government aid from Constantinople to protect the people.

EGYPT AND SUDAN.—The port and harbour of Port Sudan were inaugurated by the Khedive on April 1, amidst a distinguished gathering of Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian officials.

CHINA.—Henry Hessy Johnstone Gompertz, barrister-at-law, police magistrate and coroner, Hong-Kong, has been made Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of that Colony.

W. P. Ker has been appointed Commercial Attaché to His Majesty's Legation at Pekin.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The revision of the draft Constitution was completed in Bloemfontein on May 11. A statement was also issued explaining the amendments which had been made in the draft Act. Provision is made for single-member constituencies containing as nearly as possible the *quota* of voters for each province. It is provided that proportional representation shall be applied only to the election of senators and members of the Executive Committees of Provincial Councils. There is to be Free Trade throughout the Union. In section 139, which reads, "All persons of European descent, who have been naturalized in any of the Colonies, shall be deemed to be naturalized throughout the Union," the words "of European descent" have been struck out. A subsection is added to clause 149, declaring that the Union Government shall carry out the railway agreement between Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and Natal of February 2, 1909. The Convention also adopted the recommendation carried by the Legislative Council of Cape Colony, providing that assent or objection to Bills on the part of the Governor-General shall be subject to the King's instructions, as well as to the provisions of the Constitution, the object being to avoid friction between the Imperial and United South African Governments.

All the Colonies have signed the draft agreement, and delegates have been chosen and will proceed to London to convey the Act to the Home Government to obtain their sanction.

TRANSVAAL.—A new agreement superseding the *modus vivendi* between the Transvaal and Mozambique was signed in Pretoria on April 1. The new arrangement which takes the place of the *modus vivendi* concluded in 1901 in order

to regulate (1) the share of traffic between Delagoa Bay and what is known as the "competitive area" surrounding Johannesburg and Pretoria; and, (2) the recruiting of natives in Portuguese territory, which is the principal source of supply for the Transvaal mines. As regards native labour, all new agreements follow the lines of the old one. The traffic arrangement, whereby the rates from Delagoa Bay differ in a fixed proportion from those obtaining by other routes, gives place to a more elastic provision admitting periodical revision of rates as circumstances require. The Portuguese route is to have 50 to 55 per cent. of the traffic of the competitive area. The new agreement has been concluded to ten years certain.

The Convention is issued as a Parliamentary paper, and is divided into four parts, of which the first deals with the recruitment of natives in Mozambique for the Transvaal mines. The second part relates to matters concerning railways and the port of Lorenzo Marques. Part 3 deals with commercial intercourse and customs, and stipulates that, with certain exceptions, Mozambique products shall not be subjected to any import, export, or transit duties in the Transvaal, nor those of the Transvaal in Mozambique. The fourth part is devoted to miscellaneous matters.

The Transvaal Parliament was opened on June 1, at which Lord Selbourne, the High Commissioner, announced legislation placing restrictions on betting and the publication of betting news, and dealing with lotteries and money-lending, and also a measure providing for proportionate representation in municipalities.

The Budget was introduced on June 8. The revenue for 1908-9 shows a surplus over estimates of £819,000. The expenditure had exceeded the estimate by £66,000, but there was a realized surplus of £902,000. The revenue for 1909-10 is estimated at £5,251,000, and the expenditure at £4,963,000.

RHODESIA.—The Treasurer in introducing his Budget on May 19 laid emphasis on the progress of mining and

agriculture in the territory, and said that the surplus for 1908-9 had been £25,000 as against the £9,000 originally estimated. The imports of merchandise had increased 22 per cent. He estimated that in the present financial year 1909-10 the revenue, including the present surplus, would be £591,070, and the expenditure £590,997.

**AFRICA : WEST COAST AND NIGERIA.**—A junction has been effected, on the Southern Nigeria Railway, between the rails proceeding northwards from Lagos and those proceeding southwards from Jebba on the Niger River. This places the Niger River, at a point some 500 miles from its mouth, in direct communication by rail with the town of Lagos, the capital of Southern Nigeria. This will facilitate the building of the bridge at Jebba. The railway north of Jebba is being pushed on to join the Baro-Kano Railway at Zungeru.

The survey of the boundary between Southern Nigeria and the adjacent German colony of the Cameroons has been completed, and the British and German Commissions have agreed on a provisional boundary line.

Lieutenant Vanrenan, Assistant Resident in Northern Nigeria, while marching to a Guari town with three Europeans and thirty-five native police to instal a chief, was ambushed on May 6, and he, the chief, and eleven of the police were killed. A force was despatched to the district under Major Williams.

**MAURITIUS.**—Sir Frank Swettenham, K.C.M.G., Sir E. L. O'Malley, Knight, and Mr. H. B. Drysdale Woodcock have been appointed Royal Commissioners to investigate the condition and resources of Mauritius. Mr. A. J. Harding, of the Colonial Office, is the secretary to the Commission.

**AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.**—A new Federal Cabinet has been formed, with Mr. Deakin as the Premier; while Mr. J. Cook is Minister for Defence; Sir J. Forrest, Treasurer; Mr. Glynn, Attorney-General; Sir J. Quick, Postmaster-General; Sir R. W. Best, Minister for Trade;

Mr. Fuller, Minister for Home Affairs; and Mr. Groom, Minister for External Affairs.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Sir G. Strickland, K.C.M.G., Governor of Tasmania, has been appointed Governor of Western Australia in place of Admiral Sir F. Bedford, G.C.B.

QUEENSLAND.—Sir William MacGregor, G.C.M.G., C.B., Governor of Newfoundland, has been appointed Governor of Queensland in place of Lord Chelmsford.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Lord Chelmsford, late Governor of Queensland, has been appointed Governor of New South Wales.

TASMANIA.—Major-General Harry Barron has been appointed Governor of the State of Tasmania in succession to Sir Gerald Strickland, now Governor of Western Australia.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Sir R. Williams, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Windward Islands, has been appointed Governor of Newfoundland in place of Sir William Macgregor. The elections in May resulted in Sir E. Morris securing twenty-six seats and Sir Robert Bond ten.

CANADA.—Lord Strathcona has given £50,000 to create a fund for the furtherance of a scheme for physical training in the public schools in Canada.

There was a surplus of \$1,500,000 in the revenue for year ended March 31 last. The total trade of the country during the past year was \$553,737,000, a decrease of \$97,000,000, principally in import. During the same period Canada produced 474,575,855 bushels of grain, including 126,795,137 bushels of wheat. The total number of immigrants for the year was 146,908, compared with 202,467 in the previous year. British immigrants numbered 52,901, being a decrease of 68,000; Continental immigrants, 34,175, a decrease of 49,800; and immigrants from the United States numbered 59,832, a slight increase.

Lord Grey will complete his full period of six years as Governor-General of Canada in December, 1910.

EMPIRE DAY, May 24, was celebrated throughout the

Empire in many ways. In Bombay and elsewhere in India elaborate programmes were carried out, and speeches were made on the object of celebrating Empire Day. In New York, Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador, who was the guest of honour at the Empire Day dinner, in response to the toast of "the Empire," said that his interest in the prosperity of the United States was only second to his interest in that of Great Britain. He believed that the citizens of the United States were attached to the British Empire. The United States and the British Empire were two nations, but one in mind, one in heart, and one in the desire to promote peace among all nations. Canada celebrated the occasion by a public holiday. Lord Grey, the Governor-General, unveiled in the Armouries Building at Hamilton, Ontario, a memorial tablet to the soldiers of Hamilton who fell in the South African War. Celebrations throughout the Australian Commonwealth denoted the patriotic spirit of the Australians. Demonstrations were held in the schools, and flags flown everywhere. Meetings were held at which patriotic speeches were made. New Zealand, South Africa, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Malta all joined in the celebrations, and made a public holiday.

**OBITUARY.—**The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., formerly of the Port Commission at Calcutta;—Major J. S. Edye, R.A.M.C.;—Captain James Cundy, late Indian Army;—Arthur Trayer, Indian Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred James Stead, D.S.O., late Bengal Infantry;—General Raja Sir Amar Singh, K.C.S.I., brother of the Maharaja of Kashmir;—Henry Blois Hawkins Turner, C.I.E.;—Francis Trevenen Coode, Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Lucknow;—Major R. A. P. Clements, C.B., D.S.O. (South African war 1877-79, Burmese expedition 1886, South Africa 1900-2), from 1900 he served in India, and commanded the 4th Division at Quetta since 1907;—Mr. L. E. Rutz-Rees, late of Lucknow;—Colonel William Gordon Cumming, C.I.E. (retired), Royal (late Madras) Engineers;—John Graham Cordery, C.S.I., formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant R. D. C. Bell, R.F.A.;—Whiteley Stokes, C.S.I., C.I.E., Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Dublin and Edinburgh;—Lieutenant-Colonel

H. Capel Cure, D.S.O. (Burmese expedition 1886-87, South African war 1899-1900);—Henry Robert Grimes, formerly Inspector-General of Gaols, Madras Presidency;—Alan Daniel Brown, I.C.S., Assistant Judge, Dharwar District, India;—Major-General Francis Henry Vanderzee, late Indian Army;—Charles Stanhope Foster Crofton, Indian Civil Service;—James MacKay Taylor, Executive Engineer, P.W.D., India;—Major-General Minto Elliot (Indian Mutiny, Hazara campaign 1868, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Colonel Arthur Saltmarshe (Indian Mutiny, New Zealand war 1863-65);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Fishbourne, late R.A.M.C. (Afghan war, 1878-79, Mishood Waziri expedition 1881, Soudan campaign 1884-85);—Raja Rampal Singh, of Kalakankar, in the Partabgarh district;—Colonel Hurlock G. Pritchard, C.S.I. (Indian Mutiny);—General Robert Napier Raikes (Gwalior campaign 1843, Burmese war 1852, Indian Mutiny 1857); Deputy Surgeon-General R. Hungerford, late 53rd Regiment (Crimea 1855, Indian Mutiny);—Captain J. A. Hefferon, late 18th Hussars (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—General Sir Hugh Gough, V.C., Keeper of His Majesty's regalia (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Edward Charles Garstin, late Indian Army;—Charles Hamilton Roberts, Oudh Commission, late Judge, Sitapur, Oudh;—Robert Barclay Chapman, C.S.I.;—Major-General Sir Mathew W. E. Gosset (Mutiny 1857, Kaffir war 1878, Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881);—Major-General J. C. Russell (Ashantee war 1873-74, Kaffir war 1878-79, Zulu war 1879);—Major-General C. D. Macleod (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General J. Nisbett, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Church (Indian Mutiny, Zulu war);—Henry Zouch Darrah, C.S.I., a Divisional Commissioner of the United Provinces;—Arthur Tewdwr Davies Berrington, late Senior Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States;—Lieutenant James T. I. Plunkett, Adjutant to His Highness the Nizam's (Own) 3rd Lancers;—Robert William Span Mitchell, C.M.G., I.S.O., of India, late Emigration Agent for British Guinea, Natal, and Trinidad;—Rev. Walter Harry Tribe, formerly Archdeacon of Lahore;—Colonel William Jeffreys, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers;—Colonel Arthur Conolly, late Bengal Staff Corps;—William W. Ireland, M.D., formerly of H.M. Indian Army;—Alexander Robert Home, eldest son of A. L. Home, Indian Forest Service;—Rev. Percy H. Shaul, C.M.S.;—Rao Bahadur Sansar Chandra Sen, C.I.E., M.V.O., Prime Minister of the State of Jaipur;—Herbert George Pearse, late I.C.S.;—Major-General W. Charles Stanley Clarke, late Indian Army;—G. R. Elsmie, C.S.I.;—Christopher B. Coldwell, A.M., I.M.E., Superintendent of Lucknow Water Works;—Colonel J. C. Robinson (Kaffir war 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T. H. Burke, Bart. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. E. Grigg, late Bengal Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frederic Blair Staples, late Assistant Commissioner-General of Colombo;—Rev. Dr. Rouse, M.A., LL.B., D.D.;—Major J. Rose, late Indian Army (Mutiny);—Colonel William Samuel Burrell (South African war);—General Sir Julius Augustus Robert Raines, G.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel William J. White (Afghan war 1879);—Colonel G. C. P. Onslow, late Royal Engineers (Afghan war 1879-80,

Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Major-General Francis Henry Vanderzee (Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Major Hector Corbyn, of the Royal Horse Artillery (South Africa);—Major-General Sir William Hope Meiklejohn, of the Bengal Infantry;—Major-General Richard D'Oyley C. Bracken (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Lieutenant Norman Patterson, D.s.o. (South Africa);—Major W. D. Nunn (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel John Peyton (Peshawar frontier 1854-55, Indian Mutiny 1857-58);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles H. Hignett (Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. W. Thistlethwayte (Afghan war 1878-79);—Colonel Aylmer S. Cameron, v.c. (Crimea war, Indian Mutiny).

*June 12, 1909.*

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1909.

THE INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

IT is a grievous thing that the only opportunity for a general discussion in Parliament of "the moral and material progress of India" should be relegated by this Liberal Government to a single afternoon and evening in the dog-days, when a quorum of forty members can only barely be found, even for the speeches of the Master of Elibank and Lord Percy, and minor prophets can only get an audience varying from three to thirteen! And as these minor prophets are only very grudgingly reported in the newspapers, their eloquence is practically wasted on the desert air.

Things were managed better in the old Unionist days. The Indian Budget was often taken quite early in the Session, and consequently a good many members were able to benefit by the discussion. I am bound to confess, however, in fairness, that the change for the worse is not altogether the fault of the Liberal Government, but rather, of some half-dozen of their unruly followers, who will insist on playing the part of Ishmaelites, and, in defiance of the expostulations of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, worrying the good and virtuous Radical Ministry just as if they were no better

than wicked Tories. These "emotional idealists," as Lord Morley wittily calls them, succeed, indeed, in making themselves a nuisance to their own party without engaging the interest of the Opposition, so, not unnaturally, no one listens to them, and the Government cruelly puts the extinguisher on them by giving them as little opportunity for talk as possible. And yet that some of them have knowledge and abilities that might be put to better account if only they chose to try was shown the other day by the excellent speeches of Mr. Hart-Davies and Mr. Laidlaw on some phases of the education problem; and Mr. C. J. O'Donnell's speech on the land revenue, though decidedly heretical in tone, contained much that was worthy of consideration. If only the so-called "friends of India"—they will prove her worst enemies if they succeed in sickening both parties in Parliament by their jeremiads—would only follow the example of the gentlemen I have named, instead of bothering about the crudities of Padgett, M.P., I have no doubt that before long we should enjoy more ample opportunities for the discussion of Indian affairs on a practical basis. Mr. Asquith has shown clearly enough that eternal diatribes about the iniquities of British rule, and constant endeavours to stir up and exacerbate racial differences, are not only wearisome, and even nauseating, to the hearers and to the British public at large, but they also are exceedingly injurious to the cause of progress in India. The offenders in this respect might well take to heart the words of the very able Indian gentleman who presided over the recent Industrial Conference at Agra. Extracts from his excellent inaugural address are given in Miss Beck's admirable little *Indian Magazine* for September; and in speaking of the efforts that have been made, and should be greatly increased, for the development of the industries of India, the president used these eminently wise and statesmanlike words :

"I trust that you will allow me to extend this argument about the identity of the interests of capital

and labour, so as to embrace the identity of the aims that should animate all classes of society. In such union lies strength. If you divorce the intellectuals from the masses, the industrial from the agricultural or professional interest, the Hindus from the Mahomedans, Indians from Europeans, or the people from the Government, you will find that a grave responsibility rests on you for retarding for generations to come the harmonious working of the delicately adjusted machine of our complex Indian society, which is our heritage from the centuries of history that lie behind us."

That is the spirit that should be shown in the speeches of those who aspire—many of them, I am sure, in the utmost good faith and with the best of motives—to place the needs and requirements of India and the multitudinous peoples of India before the British House of Commons. Instead of that, they put up terrible gushers like Mr. Mackarness and Dr. Rutherford, who, with the best intentions in the world, know practically nothing about India, and drive everybody away, Liberals and Conservatives alike, in terror to the smoking-room, so that no one is left to listen to more practical orations like those of Mr. Rees, Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, Sir Henry Kimber, Mr. Hart-Davies, and Mr. Laidlaw.

It is not the fashion nowadays for Budgets to deal much with current finance. But in this respect the Master of Elibank compares very favourably with the exponents of some other Budgets. His explanation of the actual financial condition of India, though not very hopeful or satisfactory, was particularly clear and lucid on most points. But there were many serious omissions, some of which were dealt with by Lord Percy in the admirable speech which followed that of the Under-Secretary of State.

It was, perhaps, quite natural that the Master of Elibank should not lay too much stress on the undoubted fact that the aspect of the Indian finances would be even still more

unsatisfactory than it now appears, if it were not for the tremendous indirect taxation on all internal production that is involved in the closing of the mints. But, though this point need not be laboured too much in official pronouncements, it ought never to be lost sight of by those who are responsible for Indian finance, and it constitutes in itself a powerful argument for those who advocate a Preferential Tariff. This taxation is applied to the general upkeep of the Indian market, and it is only fair that the foreigner who uses that market should pay as much for its use, and that an equitable reciprocity should be accorded to India by the United Kingdom and the other States of the British Empire. It is only the fanaticism of the Liberal party that prevents this being done. For the fetish-worshippers of so-called "Free Trade," though they cannot deny that Indian goods as well as British goods are subjected to heavy burdens from which the goods of the foreigner are exempt—the latter being often even subsidized by their own Governments—are shocked at any attempt to equalize matters by Preferential taxation, lest the poor foreigner should suffer.

At least, that is the attitude of the Government and of Liberal members in general. And it is also the attitude of the British Parliamentary supporters of the Congress in their own constituencies here in England. In Manchester, Sir Charles Schwann is a "Free Trader." So is Mr. Byles in Salford. So is Mr. Mond in Chester. So is Sir Henry Cotton in Nottingham. But when these gentlemen or their representatives appear in Calcutta, what a change is there!—in the course of the voyage they have become the rankest of Protectionists. They sent out Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to officially represent them as President of the Congress in 1906, and he vehemently declared that though he had been in England a member of the Cobden Club itself, yet in India he entirely approved of Protection (*Swadeshi*), as rendered necessary by what he termed "the economic muddle." And in the House of Commons, in

this Budget debate, Sir Henry Cotton bluntly avowed that English goods are "alien and foreign from the point of view of the Indian." Mr. Rees appears to have endeavoured to elicit from Sir Henry a plain statement as to whether he and his friends approved of the Indian Protection (*Swadeshi*) "as Free Traders," but he was interrupted by cries of "Order!" and a voice "You cannot be talking all the time," so that the very necessary explanation was not forthcoming.

I am certain my old friend Sir Henry Cotton would not knowingly be guilty of evasion or misrepresentation in this very important matter, but he must surely see that it is grossly unfair to tell the House of Commons that the Indian *Swadeshi*—*i.e.*, protection against all imported goods, whether British or foreign in their origin—is only "an exaggerated form of that which is known as Tariff Reform." He knows as well as I do, and I respectfully challenge contradiction, that there is this vital difference between Tariff Reform or Imperial Preference and Indian *Swadeshi*, that, while the latter would penalize all imported goods, and would tax Nottingham hosiery and Manchester goods as heavily as similar goods brought from Hamburg or other Continental protected ports, on the other hand Tariff Reform would *only* tax the really foreign goods (goods brought from countries outside the British Empire), and would admit free, or at least with a substantial preference, all goods coming from British ports, including the Nottingham hosiery and the cotton goods of Lancashire. This is a very plain and simple issue. I venture to submit that, as a point of honour, those members of the "Indian Parliamentary Party" who represent British manufacturing constituencies, like Sir Charles Schwann, Mr. Byles, Mr. A. Mond, and Sir Henry Cotton, are bound to make it quite clear that, in supporting Indian *Swadeshi* and in opposing Imperial Preference, they are directly and undeniably supporting Indian protective taxation against the goods produced by their own constituents.

Now, I submit that this is obviously a question that ought to be threshed out on the floor of the House of

Commons in the course of a debate on the Indian Budget. Everyone at all conversant with the trend of public opinion in India knows full well that, even if the "Partition" be still the burning question in Bengal, throughout the rest of India the *Swadeshi* question is that which occupies the thoughts of most Indian politicians. The various great Industrial Conferences that have been held in connection with the Indian National Congress have shown—and none more so than the recent Madras Conference, held under the very able auspices of the Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar and the Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, C.I.E.,—that there are a great many highly-educated and patriotic Indian economists and politicians who are determined that, with Government aid or without it, Indian industries must be given a chance. Without Government aid, this can only be accomplished by *Swadeshi* or voluntary Protection, for it is universally agreed that the so-called "Free Trade" system beloved of the Cobden Club destroys every nascent industry in India. And the result of the general spread of *Swadeshi* must be absolutely ruinous to British manufactures. But with the aid of Government, I think it is more than likely—and the hope is increased by the recent very moderate and conciliatory speeches of Mr. Gokhale and other leaders—that our Indian fellow-subjects would be content, for the sake of the abolition of the odious excise duty on Indian cottons, and in return for the preferential treatment of Indian commodities in British ports, to accord the same preference to Lancashire and other British goods in Indian ports.

That is a subject of equal importance to the material interests of Britain and of India, and certainly deserved to be carefully discussed in the Budget debate. But Mr. Mackarness and his friends are obsessed by the notion that abuse of the British Government and of the British race is a subject that intelligent Indians care about, more than the material advancement of themselves and their fellow-countrymen. If he could ever attend an Indian

Industrial Conference, he would learn how utterly the best Indians repudiate this ridiculous notion ; while he must surely recognize by this time that his perverse and ill-conditioned incitements to racial strife are chiefly injurious to those whom he affects to befriend.

The educational debate, initiated by Mr. Barrie, was of great value. Mr. Laidlaw very opportunely pleaded that more attention should be given to the educational requirements of the Eurasian and domiciled European community, while nothing could be better than Mr. Hart-Davies's plea for the establishment, on a large scale, of those technical schools and colleges that are so much needed for the industrial development of the country. Lord Percy, in his admirable reply to the Master of Elibank, also touched on the question of education, and dwelt on the difficulties of the problem of moral and religious instruction. In connection with this, it is much to be regretted that no member was able to tell the House of the very comprehensive and tolerant system of moral and religious instruction that was introduced into the schools within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore last November. The scheme was evolved last year by Mr. H. J. Bhabha, the exceedingly competent Inspector-General of education in Mysore, under the auspices of the late Dewan, Mr. Madhava Rao, the present Dewan, Mr. Ananda Rao, and the First Councillor of State, Mr. Puttanna Chetty ; and the Maharaja may well be proud to possess, in successful working in his State, a system of religious instruction more liberal and more tolerant than any that I know of in any other part of the world. In this country, indeed, the sectarian jealousy of well-meaning but narrow-minded bigots like Dr. Clifford would be outraged by a system under which the Government teachers instruct the boys, each of his own faith, in the denominational tenets of Hinduism, of Muhammadanism, and of Christianity. But the success of the Mysore scheme is already remarkable, and I have no doubt whatever that it will produce results most beneficial to the

lives and characters of the subjects of this most liberal-minded Maharaja.

These are the questions that ought to occupy the attention of the House of Commons in the general discussion that is permitted to follow the financial statement of the representative of the India Office, instead of the querulous nonsense of which Mr. Asquith so reasonably complains. To the Prime Minister and to Lord Morley, whatever may be the general result of the coming general election, one of its consolations will doubtless be that the places of the "failed Lieutenant-Governors" will know them no more in a new Parliament—for they will assuredly find that English constituencies do not return members to Parliament for the purpose either of airing personal grudges or of inciting our Indian fellow-subjects to hate Anglo-Indians and despise the beneficent British rule. It is much to be desired that some constituencies should be induced to return to Parliament those—whether of English or of Indian birth—who will honestly use their experience and knowledge to promote good-feeling between rulers and ruled in India, and thereby aid the Viceroy and the Indian Government in the adequate performance of the infinitely great and important task that has been assigned to them by Divine Providence. But there will be little likelihood of this if the electors find that their representatives think more of abusing the Indian Civil Service than of promoting the moral and material progress of the Indian peoples.

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA.\*

BY SIR LEWIS TUPPER, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS.

It may, I think, be taken as a maxim of administration that, where there is a foreign Government of a ceded and conquered country, it is wiser to recognise and develop than to destroy or supplant existing indigenous institutions.† This maxim has greater force in proportion as the ruling authority differs in tradition, history, social life, law, religion, language, and race from the subject populations. In that proportion there is the stronger temptation to violate the rule, and in that proportion will its violation produce the greater degree of discontent. There are, of course, obvious limitations to the rule; for the foreign Government, if civilised, will necessarily stamp out practices which, according to its own view of law and morality, are criminal and cruel; and will, with more or less success, oppose corruption and oppression. For the rule with these limitations there are reasons of expediency, and reasons which may be fairly termed scientific. It is a commonplace that men acquiesce more readily in an order of things with which they are familiar. Existing institutions are part of the social heritage, the joint products of heredity and environment. Human progress does not escape from the great law of evolution; and in developing what is indigenous and adapting it to a new environment we avoid the penalties consequent on ignoring that law.

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF SUCH DEVELOPMENT.

In India, without any conscious advertence to a political philosophy of recent growth, we have for the most part

\* Reproduced by permission from the *British Empire Review* for May, 1909.

† Compare address of Professor William Ridgeway, Anthropological Section of the British Association, Dublin, 1908, where he quotes 'Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurrit.'

followed the maxim to which I have referred. What we did is best seen on a large scale. Our land revenue administration—a matter of the first practical importance to nearly two-thirds of the population—great as is its variety in different provinces, is, except in permanently settled districts, an improved version of the arrangements of our predecessors. We have rebuilt, on a model of far greater strength and precision of design, the shattered Delhi Empire.\* Our Empire, like that Empire before its fall, consists of great provinces officially administered, and of dependent States exercising various degrees of sovereignty. The heads of provinces stand in the place of the *subadar*, and the district officers in the place of the *amil*. On a smaller scale there are various instances. It will suffice to mention the legal recognition and employment of councils of elders in three frontier provinces, the utilisation of village headmen, not only for village purposes, but also in support of the criminal law; and, in Upper India, the conversion of the village accountants into an organised subordinate agency for the administration of the land.

#### DEPARTURES FROM THIS PROCESS.

No doubt we mistakenly acted on a set of purely Western ideas, when, at the end of the eighteenth century, we made the famous Permanent Settlement of Bengal. We also extended that Settlement to about one-third of the Madras Presidency, and then we discovered our mistake. The theory was that the unscrupulous tax-gatherers of the fallen Empire and the dependent chieftains, whose status we confused with theirs, could be turned into landlords of the English type by the wholesale gift to them of certain State rights over the land. The complete failure of that theory is a matter of history, and I need not enter on it here. In introducing representative institutions in

\* The present writer elaborated this argument at pp. 198, 199, of "Our Indian Protectorate," a book published in 1893, and long out of print.

India we are making a mistake closely analogous to the mistake of the Permanent Settlement, and with far less excuse, because there is now available, for those who do not decline to make use of it, a knowledge of the country greatly superior to that possessed by anyone in 1793. At that time we honestly admired our own system of landed property, and tried with signal ill-success to give Bengal the benefit of it. Now, that is to say, twice within my own recollection, the Government of the day has taken its own admiration for certain elements in our own political system as its guide ; and upon that admiration has attempted to deal with conditions severed from our own by impassable barriers of race and evolution.

#### VALUE OF CONSULTATIVE COUNCILS.

The Local Legislative Councils as heretofore constituted are doubtless new, but I regard them as improving, not as supplanting, the normal institutions of the country. There is nothing opposed to the indigenous institutions of India in the ruler of the day seeking the advice of the leading men of his State. The provincial organisation of the Local Councils accords with the general model of administration in British territory which we have taken, with improvements, from our predecessors. So long as there is always an official majority in nominated Councils they are in effect consultative, and the function of offering advice and freely defending it is one which they can most usefully discharge. In the Select Committees, in which the detailed work of legislation is really done, the help given by non-official members is invaluable. Legislation itself was a novelty in India, and was the inevitable consequence of one of the first necessities of orderly administration—the establishment of courts of justice worthy of the name. The creation of Legislative Councils naturally followed the inception of the reign of formally enacted law, though not, indeed, till after a long interval. Between consultative Legislative Councils and the little Parliaments which may

be brought into existence by the proposed reforms there are fundamental differences of principle.

#### LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT A FAILURE.

I have said that twice within my own recollection we have taken as our guide in dealing with Indian political institutions certain elements in political institutions of our own. These reforms are one instance, the other is the Local Self-Government Scheme of 1882. It would help the advocates for the present reforms if they were able to claim that the scheme of 1882 had succeeded. My own opinion is that so far it has failed. The time for the discussion of this question has not yet come. In two pregnant paragraphs of his despatch of November 27 last, replying to the India Councils proposals of the Government of India, the Secretary of State asserts the necessity of attempting without delay an effectual advance in the direction of local self-government. He admits that "non-official members have not been induced to such an extent as was hoped to take real interest in local business, because their powers and responsibilities were not real." The causes which have made local self-government in India an unfortunate counterfeit of the local self-government of the West would be matter for controversy which had better be postponed until we see the answer made by the Government of India to the relevant paragraphs in the Secretary of State's despatch, and can take up the discussion of the report of the Decentralisation Committee.

#### ASSUMPTION THAT THE PRESENT REFORMS WILL BE EFFECTIVE.

In making my own suggestions I will assume that in British territory local self-government will become real, that Executive Councils, with at least one Indian member on each, will be given to Lieutenant-Governors, and that the Legislative Councils will grow into little Parliaments. An Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council we

have already. I will take it that in British territory the exotic system of popular government will be forced upon a country quite unprepared for it, and that, in deference to the supposed preference of Englishmen for their own system, the serious risks which will accompany this procedure will be faced. What is the remedy? Or, if there is no complete remedy, what is the counterpoise, and in the counterpoise what security against the risks which assuredly will be much required?

#### AN ALTERNATIVE OR REMEDIAL POLICY ADVOCATED.

I do not think that in British territory there is any complete remedy. The pendulum has swung back to the ideas of 1882, and even if the present scheme could be arrested now, hereafter the pendulum of English opinion would again swing back to the ideas of 1908 and 1909. But just as we stopped territorially the process of permanent settlement, so we could gradually limit the extent of territory exposed to the risks of popular government, and increase the extent of territory still subject to Imperial rule. It is not, however, merely or primarily as a counterpoise to present action that I advocate a certain policy. I think the policy about to be explained ought to have been adopted in lieu alike of the scheme lately proposed by the Government of India and of that substituted for it by the Secretary of State.

The British Indian Empire is twofold. British territory is officially administered. So-called foreign territory—the 615 Indian States (excluding the Shan States and the Khasi States of Assam)—is, with a few exceptions, administered by ruling chiefs and their ministers. The system under which their administration is conducted is known as the political system, and its gradual elaboration, guided wholly in accordance with the principle of improving indigenous institutions, is one of the greatest of our successes. As the Greek and Roman streams of Aryan immigrants evolved the City State, as a great part of

modern Europe has evolved the Nation State, so the Aryan immigrants entering India evolved the Indian *Raj* or Principality. The Moghals accepted and even copied it in their official institutions. Fortunately, just when it was in its greatest peril from our doctrine of lapse and our entirely erroneous disbelief in the possibility of the good government of Indians by Indians, we saw how it would add to our strength; and over a third of India the preservation of Indian rule is now an accepted principle. The policy that I advocate is: Stay your hand as much as may still be possible in pressing on popular government, but without fear, with benefit to loyal aspirants for place and power, and, with an addition to our political strength, multiply the *Raj* and extend the operation of our political system.

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM EXHIBITED IN THE MYSORE INSTRUMENT OF TRANSFER.

The creation of new Native States—and that is what I mean—is by no means without precedent. I will take what is virtually a capital instance of this process because it will enable me to exhibit, in their wisdom and strength, the leading principles of our Indian political system.

The rendition of Mysore on March 25, 1881, was technically the restoration of Hindu rule in a State created by the British Government out of conquered territory after the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu on May 4, 1799. It may be fairly taken as a precedent, because at the time of rendition Mysore had been under British administration for fifty years—that is, for much more than half the period of our general supremacy in India at that date, even if we suppose that period to have begun so early as 1803. It is the Instrument of Transfer, giving effect to the rendition, which is in itself an epitome of the main principles of Indian political law; and these principles, with one possible exception, should be followed in inaugurating new Indian States with ruling chiefs of our own creation.

Without exhausting the provisions of the Instrument of

Transfer, I may summarise the most important of them. The succession devolves upon the lineal descendants of the Maharaja, whether by blood or adoption, but no succession is valid until it has been recognised by the Governor-General in Council. The Maharaja is bound to remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The British Government undertakes to defend and protect the Mysore territories against all external enemies. The Maharaja must not, without previous sanction, build any new or repair any existing fortresses. The importation and manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military stores, except with permission, are forbidden. The Maharaja must not object to the maintenance or establishment of British cantonments in the Mysore territories whenever and wherever the Governor-General in Council may consider such cantonments necessary. The military force employed in the Mysore State for the maintenance of internal order and the Maharaja's personal dignity, and for any other purposes approved by the Governor-General in Council, must not exceed the strength which that authority may from time to time fix; and its directions in respect to the enlistment, organisation, equipment, and drill of troops must at all times be complied with. The Maharaja must abstain from interference in the affairs of any other State or Power, and may have no communication or correspondence with any other State or Power, or the agents or officers of any other State or Power, except with the previous sanction and through the medium of the Governor-General in Council. The Maharaja may not employ in his service any person not a native of India without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and must, on being so required by the Governor-General in Council, dismiss from his service any person so employed. Separate coinage is prohibited, and the coinage of the Government of India is legal tender. The extradition may be demanded of any person accused of having committed an

offence in British India. Plenary criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in Mysore territories is vested in the Governor-General in Council, and in respect to such subjects the Maharaja may exercise only such jurisdiction as may be delegated to him.

The time has probably now come when the rule against intercourse between Indian States may safely be relaxed, but, in other respects, provisions substantially similar to those of the Mysore Instrument would be necessary in the case of every new State. There are others of special importance intended to safeguard the rights and expectations of the inhabitants of transferred territory.

Thus, the Instrument declares that all laws in force, and rules having the force of law in Mysore territories at the time of the cession, must be maintained and efficiently administered, and left unaltered except with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council. Without such consent, no material change in the system of administration is allowed. Title-deeds granted and settlements of land revenue made are maintained. Clause 22 clinches the whole matter. It runs :

"The Maharaja of Mysore shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of his revenues, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government."

In the event of the breach or non-observance of any of the foregoing conditions, the possession and administration of the Mysore territories may be resumed.

#### OTHER FEATURES OF THE SCHEME PROPOSED.

So far I have dealt with the constitutional position of new States, which should be practically identical with that

of the States which now exist. There are other essential matters in the scheme. All strategic routes, all strategic points, including all cantonments and great cities, should be kept under British administration. If by an exception a cantonment or great city were included in State territory, it would be treated ex-territorially, so that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government would be untouched. Moreover, blocks of British territory should be so interspersed with blocks of State territory that there should be easy and speedy communication between the States and British districts. This would supplement other measures for preventing ignorance of passing events, and would make certain that we should have immediate notice of the signs of misrule which are given when the tax-paying peasantry begin to desert their lands, and bands of armed pillagers appear and commence depredations.

#### METHOD OF APPLYING THE POLICY.

Of course, I make no specific proposals that in particular tracts old States should be revived or entirely new States constituted. I merely advocate a policy. Its detailed application would necessarily be spread over a considerable length of time. In every case we should have to find a suitable locality, a suitable population, and a suitable chief. Hindus would have to be ruled by Hindus, Muhammadans by Muhammadans. In reviving old States or in proposing to confer ruling powers upon certain chiefs or *zamindars*, who would certainly have had them from the first if we had understood the institutions of the country as well as we do now, and had possessed the same political and material preponderance, we should naturally seek for a suitable ruling chief in the old hereditary line. In constituting entirely new States we should have excellent opportunities of rewarding great landholders, or *jagirdars*, or present ruling families who had served us well, perhaps in many cases by taking cadets from their families. Generally the size of a new State should be that of an average British

district in Upper India, because experience has shown that this amount of territory, when not too densely populated, is what one man can control. But there should be no hard-and-fast rule, and for local reasons many new States might be much smaller.

Although I make no specific proposals, I may indicate groups of local leaders in parts of the country where it would be reasonable to consider the promotion to ruling powers of specially selected chiefs already possessing an hereditary status. Amongst such would be certain chiefs in Kangra and Kulu, who fared badly indeed compared with the ruling chiefs of the Simla Hill States of similar origin; various Cis-Sutlej chiefs, who unfortunately took or sympathised with the wrong side in the first Sikh War, and were disfranchised accordingly; the Oudh Talukdars; many of the great *zamindars* of Bengal and parts of the Madras Presidency; and some of the more important chiefships out of the total of one hundred in the Central Provinces which lost their chance of ruling powers in consequence of Sir Richard Temple's famous inquiry and report of 1863. In constituting entirely new States we should look for localities to rural districts of homogeneous populations off the main lines of strategy, communication, and industry; and for the Rajas and Nawabs to leading and ruling families.

#### PRECAUTIONS AGAINST MISRULE.

The work of selection would be very gradual, and for a good many years new States or old States revived would simply be added to existing political charges. In course of time, as the operation of the scheme was extended, new political agencies, perhaps on a considerable scale, would be formed. It would be a principle that British control of every State should be exercised through a political officer. This would be our great security against misrule, and for the observance of the conditions of the Instrument of Transfer. I have already suggested a subsidiary security

derived from the intermixture of British and State territory. I may add here that railways, posts, and telegraphs would remain in British hands.

#### CESSIONS OF TERRITORY UNNECESSARY.

It is important to note that the rearrangements of jurisdiction and authority here proposed do not involve any cession of British territory. Everything necessary can be done by an Act of the Indian Legislature. This facilitates the inception of the scheme, because the power of the Government of India or of the Crown to cede territory in India in time of peace has been the subject of elaborate discussion. To establish this point it is sufficient to say that in the case of the forty Shan States in Burma—shown in the Census Report as Native States—their legal position, the character of the control exercised over them, the modifications of British laws extended to them, and the powers of the chiefs are fixed by a British enactment (Sections 10 to 12 of the Burma Laws Act of 1898), and by a series of notifications in the *Burma Gazette*. What has been done in Burma can be done elsewhere in British India by like means.

#### THE SCHEME HAS BECOME FEASIBLE ONLY IN COMPARATIVELY RECENT YEARS.

It is only within recent years that the scheme here suggested has become feasible. The political system dates from the Mutiny, and has only of late been completed. I could not propose the making of new States unless the constitutional mould into which the materials might be fitted were at hand in the Mysore Instrument. Bombs notwithstanding, our strength in India was never so great as it is now; the army is better than ever and more mobile; improved communications bring instant news and expedite the use of our power. Simultaneously with the political system, the British administrative system has reached a high degree of elaboration. Some may hold that it is

over-elaborate, but at least there is this benefit, that the vast experience consolidated in our laws and rules and manuals, and in the procedure of our great departments, is available for the guidance of the new chiefs. Nor should it be forgotten that in the Census Reports and District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports there are immense stores of information ready for the use of those who would have to work out the details of any scheme for the constitution of new States.

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE SCHEME.

The scheme sketched above would possess considerable advantages. I advocate it on political grounds ; but I do not think that grounds of administrative efficiency would be wanting, because the scheme would prove a most powerful measure of decentralisation, and over-centralisation is, perhaps, our greatest defect. We should not be introducing, almost by a stroke of the pen, sweeping reforms of one type all over a vast Empire in various degrees of civilisation ; we could make a change here and there as our inquiries were perfected ; elasticity and adaptation would be regarded ; in course of time a process already visible in Indian States would set in ; and as the people advanced so also would their form of government. The rate of advance might, and would, differ largely in different parts of the Empire. We should add to our political strength because the new chiefs would owe everything to us, and would look to us for rewards and further honours ; and because the people would regard our power as their shield against the possible caprice or misrule of their Nawab or Raja. We could reward those who are really our friends, and confirm the stability of those whose interests are already the most stable. As for educated Indians, English is already the diplomatic language of India. Thanks to chiefs' colleges and other influences, the members of the rising generation of the great houses are often, or usually, literate ; and, politically, they deserve even more consideration than the

schoolmasters and graduates and undergraduates of no family, and the journalists and lawyers of no great repute who form a not insignificant proportion of the agitators. New Native States would open fresh fields of employment to well-affected literates, and valuable opportunities of promotion to our own Indian officials. Men desire power and dignity no less than money, and the officials of Indian States would have more power than our Provincial Service men, and would enjoy the high-sounding titles of Foreign Minister, Minister of Education, Minister of Justice, and the like. I do not think that Lieutenant-Governors, as distinguished from their secretaries and heads of departments, need be overworked in consequence of having to meet their little Parliaments ; but there will certainly be some addition to their work, and, in either case, the measure of decentralisation here proposed would afford that real relief which association with colleagues would deny them. Partitions of provinces would be avoided, and for such measures further need will otherwise certainly arise from the increase of population, the spread of education, the growth of industries, and the constantly enhanced complexity of every sort of public business. The formation of new groups of States within a province would be no break in its movement towards the rank of a nationality within the Empire. More than all, we should escape the race difficulty which is fundamental in India. There are few worse dangers in India than the dangers arising out of the subjection of the ruling race to those whose government is its duty. This is to cause us to abdicate our functions and to lessen our prestige and self-respect, on which, having regard to our scanty numbers, we largely depend for our authority. Every system is radically bad which involves the subordination of Europeans to Indians. That subordination will be the direct consequence of appointing Indian members of new Executive Councils of Lieutenant-Governors. If such a system is persisted in, the character of the Indian Civil Service will

be changed for the worse. Under the scheme which I propose the new chiefs would be in their right place. They would exercise great authority over their fellow-Indians, but would do so subject to British control.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE SCHEME.

By far the most important objection to this scheme is that the inhabitants of the tracts proposed for transfer would, almost invariably, prefer to remain under British rule. This admission is a satire on Indian self-government; but I appeal to anyone who has had experience of Indian provincial administration for confirmation of its accuracy. I think the objection is outweighed by the advantages. The peasantry would cry out, but they would not really be hurt. What they desire is, in time-honoured phrase, that the *ryot* shall not be subject to unwarrantable exactions, and, duly paying his rent or revenue, shall not be dispossessed of the lands he occupies. As I have indicated, all British laws would be maintained. If a chief exercised oppression, he would, without hesitation, be removed, and a long minority established with a superintendent in charge. I quite allow that there would be corruption; but if it became materially worse than it is in British territory, it would be time to change the chief. So frequent are transfers, due mainly to leave and promotions, so crushing is the burden of the desk, that fewer officers than is desirable have time to get to know their districts really well. A good chief holding by a life tenure would know every village in his charge, and all the leaders of the tribes and castes, and all the local magnates. Such a Raja might very well be a better earthly providence for the peasantry than the fleeting collector, Indian or European. The village headmen, who habitually violated the Excise laws and made a practice of sharing the plunder with thieves, would take another view, and probably their outcry would be loudest when the transfer of territory was proposed. We gain confidence in our impartiality, obedience, and respect,

but we do not touch the heart or the imagination of the people. The change once made, the pomp and show and circumstance of a native court would be popular; and no one who has heard an Indian crowd greet a chief with the subdued cry of "Maharáj, Maharáj!" and seen them raise their joined hands to their foreheads in salutation, can doubt that there is a depth of feeling there which our cold official rectitude entirely fails to fathom.

#### NO FINANCIAL OR MILITARY DIFFICULTY.

I cannot pretend to meet in this paper all the objections to my scheme which have occurred to me, but I wish to say that I do not think there need be any financial or any military difficulty. There would be some initial expenditure in setting up the chief with his palace and equipage, but places and men for chiefships would be so gradually selected that this would not perceptibly affect any Imperial Budget. After establishment the chiefship should be dealt with exactly like a local government, so that there would be no loss of revenue, the financial arrangements being the same. Against the civil list of the chief and the salaries of his officials should be set the whole cost of the administration of a British district. Many of the new chiefs would offer Imperial Service troops or transport trains, which would be sent to the front in time of war. The number of isolated civil stations taxing our regulars and volunteers, if we had to face an external enemy, would be satisfactorily reduced. There would be no fear of flank attacks on our strategic lines of communication. On the contrary, the authority of the chief would be of great use in the collection of transport and supplies.

#### THE POLICY OF LORD CANNING.

As a part of the pacification which followed the Mutiny, Lord Canning, with the approval of the Home Government, granted to Ruling Chiefs the privilege of adopting successors, thus indicating by an impressive sign that we did

not lie in wait to annex their territories. In his despatch on this subject he said, referring to the Mutiny : "In the time of which I speak these patches of native government served as breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us as one great wave. And in quiet times they have their uses. Restless men who will accept no profession but arms, crafty intriguers bred up in native courts, and others who would chafe at our stricter and more formal rule, live there contentedly ; and should the day come when India shall be threatened with an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found in these Native States. . . . It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all India into *zillahs* (or British districts) it was not in the nature of things that our Empire should last fifty years ; but that if we could keep up a number of Native States, without political power, but as royal instruments, we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt ; and recent events have made it more deserving of our attention than ever."

The plan here advocated is an extension of the policy of Lord Canning, with modifications intended to make it suitable to the circumstances of the present time.

NOTE.—When this article was first published, in May last, I was indeed aware that Colonel L. J. H. Grey, c.s.i., had written something about the Native States ; but I did not see what he had written till August 7. His conclusions and mine were thus reached quite independently. He has published a series of articles in the *United Service Magazine*, and all of them (except one which appeared later in that magazine for last August) have been republished in pamphlet form, with a preface by Lieutenant-General Sir Edmund R. Elles, under the title of "The India of the Future." It is very satisfactory to me to find that, on the main question of principle, Colonel Grey and myself are in close agreement. Writing in September 1907, he proposed "to extend by slow degrees the system of native administration, which already covers one-third of India, over as much as may be possible of the remaining two-thirds of that country." This is

identical with my main proposal; but I ought to add that there are important points on which I do not agree with Colonel Grey:

(1) While I would not lay down a rigid rule against extending the territory of existing states, I am not in favour of this process. Such States are already pillars of the Empire. We need fresh support. Extensions would cause much importunity and heart-burning.

(2) I dissent altogether from Colonel Grey's financial proposals for pooling Indian debt over the States. This plan would completely wreck the scheme.

(3) I do not think that Colonel Grey's suggestions for the expansion of Imperial Service Troops are practicable.

(4) Without denying that there is a certain connection between the extension of the political system and imperial defence, I think each of these subjects will gain by entirely separate discussion.

In a preliminary stage of a large subject like the present some differences of opinion are inevitable; and of course no close review of Colonel Grey's proposals can be attempted in a mere footnote. I am greatly obliged to him for his kind notice of my article in the *United Service Magazine* for August, 1909.

## THE ROYAL COMMISSION UPON DECENTRALIZATION IN INDIA.

By LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR DONALD ROBERTSON.

WHEN the Royal warrant for the appointment of this Commission was issued in September 1907, there were some who argued that the investigation being of such a far-reaching character, the *personnel* might advantageously have been strengthened, that it was, for instance, essential to have as chairman a statesman of assured position, and associated with him one or two Indian officials holding high Executive rank—not of the secretariat—as well as a fair representation from amongst the legitimate opposition. Later on it was whispered that the proceedings of the Commission in India afforded but a faint hope that the matured opinions of this body would inspire confidence, and it was felt that the Secretary of State had missed the great opportunity open to him, on the successful issue of which so much depended. Whatever the justifications for these gloomy forebodings may have been, there are unquestionably now available to the public pronouncements on several very important questions, eminently sound and moderate, which, if the recommendations are acted upon, may, it is hoped, not only improve and ease the administrative machinery in various directions, but also serve to check the growing estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, and thus promote the contentment of the masses upon which the permanence of our tenure in India necessarily rests.

It would travel beyond the limits of useful comment at this stage to attempt even brief criticisms of the twenty chapters which the report contains, and nothing more will be attempted than to touch upon some three or four salient features, in so far as they appeal to the present writer's conception of what is of immediate consequence to the

people, and especially the agricultural classes of our great Dependency, that section of the community which has been described as "those who matter."

It is important to differentiate between (*a*) the reforms recently inaugurated by Lord Morley, and (*b*) the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon decentralization. The former have been thoroughly debated in England; some criticism, more or less unanswerable, has been brought to bear upon them; but the views expressed by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords seem to fit the case with sufficient exactness—*e.g.*, some concessions are required, these should take effect at once, and be substantial. The changes announced touch directly the bulk of the people only to the extent of whatever popular interest may be aroused in the new electoral system. Additions to Executive Councils, the creation of these bodies, or even the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Council affect, in the first instance, only the educated classes, and are not understood by the inarticulate millions. On the other hand, many matters dealt with by the Commission—notably the immediate control of the District Officer's work, and the manner in which it is performed, come home to everyone in the enormous rural areas, however lowly he may be; whilst if the consequence of irritating and unnecessary interference by superior authority have the effect of swamping the District Officer with clerical duties, and thereby damping his ardour for other work, he will probably resign himself to the inevitable, and either neglect altogether or slur over what it is essential he should do—"keep his door open" and "listen to everyone"—expressions which have a special significance in India.

At a lecture recently delivered in London on the "Aspirations of Indians," it was assumed that the bulk of the population have no aspirations. In the sense that they neither understand nor sympathize with the present agitation, this is no doubt true. There is, however, no difficulty in defining what these people—the agriculturists

whose political importance is, as I have said, undeniable—really desire, and what they must have as an insurance against the permeating influence of dissatisfaction with our rule. They want to be justly and considerately governed by men who understand their language and customs, are always accessible, and ready to listen sympathetically to grievances and requests for assistance. So long as these conditions are fulfilled, we shall retain our hold upon the country. The danger lies in allowing the administrative agency to become so stereotyped and machine-like that the personal guiding element, which is so potent a factor in the East, shall disappear, at a time, too, when the pernicious counsels of peripatetic agitators are commencing to take effect.

The Government of India would do well to bear constantly in mind, and, indeed, to hang up as a guiding maxim in every Secretariat, the opinions expressed on page 25 of the report :

“ Both the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have hitherto been too much dominated by considerations of administrative efficiency. . . . The burden of work could be materially diminished if the Indian Governments were to refrain from interfering in unnecessary detail with the actions of the authorities subordinate to them.”

Efficiency at all hazards has been inscribed in large type on every page of modern Indian administrative history. It is in pursuit of this ideal, ignoring the necessity for elasticity in our methods, that we have run the ship on to the rocks of discontent, by appearing to evade the generous promise contained in the late Queen’s Proclamation, and by severely hampering the District Officer’s proceedings to the extent of rendering his authority merely nominal. Paradoxes abound and flourish in India, and, startling as it may appear to our countrymen over here, the statement that an efficiently governed India connotes a happy people, must be received with considerable qualification.

The Commission is on very sound ground in treating of what is really the crux of the position—district management. They recommend for general adoption—tempered, of course, by local peculiarities—the system which obtains in some Provinces whereby each District is split up into sub-divisions, in charge of an officer exercising large powers under the District Officer, whose functions would then consist mainly of control, an obviously desirable arrangement as tending to obviate much irksome detail, and enabling him to devote more time to supervision and observation. The head of the District has at present practically no leisure for what is of supreme importance—intercourse with the people. These interviews, entailing the exercise of much patience in listening to interminable and often uninteresting stories, are necessarily of an exhausting nature. How are they to be undertaken, often in a wearing climate, when an officer has had all the energy he possesses squeezed out of him by incessant clerical labour? If, as is often asserted, sympathy between the European and Indian is drying up, to what must this unfortunate change in their relations be attributed? The misdirected centralizing energy, which has had the effect of chaining the District Officer to his writing-table, continually endeavouring to cope with endless bundles of papers, must, I think, accept a considerable share of the blame. An elementary proposition in India is that power begets respect. Our administration must be considerate, but it is no less necessary that it be supported by firm authority. If this proposition be disputed, it could be substantiated by overwhelming testimony drawn from recent occurrences.

It cannot, I repeat, be too strongly insisted upon that, if the district management be less thorough and sympathetic than it used to be, the cause for the deterioration is to be found in our system. This annihilates individuality, and confines the authority of the man in a responsible position within such narrow limits that it is apt to be disregarded by the astute Oriental, who is an adept at sizing up the capacity

and status of the "saheb" with whom he is brought in contact. The first *desideratum*, therefore, is to give this official some leisure from perpetual desk work, so that he may look around, see with his own eyes how things are shaping, and learn at first hand all that is essential for him to know if he is to keep his finger upon the pulse of District life.

Some useful suggestions are contained in Chapter X of the Report with which most of us who have served in India will agree—namely, the best manner of checking too lengthy service in the secretariats. Young civilians who develop a crisp and clever style of writing are, at an early stage in their careers, sometimes before they have acquired sufficient acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people, or more than a book knowledge of any of the many dialects spoken, caught up to the secretariats; and, if they prove to be accurate workers, and clever critics of their more experienced brethren in the plains, often succeed in being passed on from one headquarter's appointment to another, and thus spend the best part of their official lives completely dissociated from District work.

A special class is thereby formed, necessarily out of touch or sympathy with the agency upon which the welfare of the administration really pivots, tending to develop, as the Commission says, "a paper government, marked by undesirable uniformity and rigidity." It is far better that the chief of the administration should suffer some slight inconvenience, if papers are placed before him in a less polished and up-to-date style, rather than that by unsympathetic treatment the heart should be taken out of the District Officer, to whom alone the appellation, so freely used in the Lords, of "the man on the spot," can be correctly applied. The present Secretary of State is credited with a dominating personality, and it is safe to prophesy that no really effective action will be taken by the Government of India to remedy the defect just discussed, unless he vigorously supports the idea that a general staff on the

Civil side is not required for India, and may conceivably degenerate into a mischievous nuisance.

Unqualified approval must be bestowed upon the suggestions contained in Chapter XVI of the Report, the more important amongst which are those dealing with promotion as a matter of course on too stereotyped lines, and the very regrettable ignorance of the vernaculars in some Provinces. Just as in the army an officer does not succeed merely by right of seniority to the command of a regiment, so no civilian should be appointed collector of a District unless possessed of the requisite qualities which go to make a successful administrator, in a country where the unexpected so often calls for tactful and vigorous action. Literary distinction is no doubt an essential qualification, but this has often to be supplemented by something of a sterner nature. What we should aim at is not promotion by seniority, tempered by rare rejections of the obviously unfit, but a thoroughgoing system of selection.

The importance of a knowledge of the vernaculars will be readily admitted. It is ridiculous to suggest that an officer unable to converse fluently with a peasant on any subject arising in the course of a day's duty can possibly be an efficient agent of Government. Will the people have confidence in anyone unable to appreciate their complaints when made to him in person? or how can a District Officer, whose colloquial knowledge is on a poor scale, gauge the popular sentiment, or understand the caste customs which are part and parcel of Indian daily life? Our Government are apathetic in regard to a shortcoming of increasing magnitude. If they will make the language tests more practical and strict, and refuse, after a certain date, to offer preferment to those who have neglected to qualify in this most important branch of their work, the defects to which the Commission draw attention will soon become things of the past.

It is much to be hoped that these and many other valuable recommendations will not be obscured by more intricate

questions, such as those of financial control, and allowed to fade away in the cold shade of official disfavour, eventually to disappear out of sight, following in the wake of many similar proposals for the better government of India. It was inevitable, as the logical outcome of our system of high education, that the clamour which the Indian intellectuals have raised in order to obtain a larger share in the government of their country should be heard at the centres of population. The claim is not an unreasonable one, and is in course of being satisfied, the official mind recognizing that important developments require exceptional measures. The rôle of withdrawing from the position of controller to that of adviser is well understood in some branches of the Indian administration, and has now to be adapted to a wider sphere of action.

What, in the interests of about five-sixths of the population, we want to arrive at is the more efficient regulation of District work—the controlling system from headquarters, with its constant interference and calls for information, and, worse than all, its appearance of not trusting the District Officer, must be modified. At the same time, officers should be given to understand that approved work in their Districts, including, of course, sympathy towards and friendly intercourse with Indians, will open every gate to preferment. Improvement will thus be brought about automatically, and it should be impossible for anarchism, or any secret organization, to obtain or retain any hold in the country.

If the administration of India is not only allowed, but if necessary, impelled, to move forward on the lines advocated by the Royal Commission for the conduct of District work, Lord Morley's name will be remembered as that of the Secretary of State during whose tenure of office, and on whose initiative, measures were adopted which contributed in no small degree to the stability of our Empire in India.

FIELD-MARSHAL  
SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.\*  
BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE late Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, who has here found a worthy biographer in Mr. G. W. Forrest, was the finest type of the Indian soldier which the armies of the Honourable East India Company could or did produce. He was at once a *beau sabreur*, a skilful commander, an able administrator, and an upright and honourable man. He was a loyal servant, a generous master, a faithful friend, and a chivalrous enemy. If the appellation of the Bayard of India had not been already appropriated by James Outram, it might equally appropriately have been bestowed on Neville Chamberlain. That fine old soldier, Lord Gough, on one occasion hailed him as "the Bravest of the Brave." He was wounded in the field in single fight and mixed affray almost as many times as Prince Eugene. It might have been with justice said of him that "his body was scrap-iron cold-worked, and his heart was copper-bolted with no waste or escape, and his nerves were Swedish steel, superior to sample."

Mr. Forrest's book suffers from the usual fault of modern biographies: it is too big. Perhaps the interests of the printer and the publisher demand that a volume of this kind should be brought up to the regulation standard of bulk; perhaps the author, whose strong point is historical narrative, was unable to resist the temptation of an occasional agreeable divagation into the paths of general history. He has wisely left his hero as far as possible to tell his own story by his letters and diaries, connecting them by the necessary thread of explanatory narrative; but he has materially increased the dimensions of the volume

\* "Life of Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., author of "History of the Indian Mutiny," etc. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1909.

by the insertion, not of irrelevant, but of extraneous matter, which, though of much general interest to the student of history, and of Indian history in particular, has no specific connection with the career of the hero of the story. For instance, in the third and fourth chapters some twenty pages are devoted to the progress of events at Kabul and in Northern Afghanistan, in which Neville Chamberlain took no part, he being all the time with his regiment, which formed part of General Nott's division at Kandahar. Thirty pages of the seventh chapter are taken up with a résumé of the history of the First Sikh War and with an account of military and political transactions in the Punjab, with which Neville Chamberlain had nothing to do; and detailed descriptions are given of battles at which he was not present—for instance, the Battles of Punniar and Najafghar. The closing scenes of the life of the heroic Nicholson are detailed once in the narrative, and again in a letter written by Neville Chamberlain to Herbert Edwardes. But readers who take an interest in military history will easily pardon these digressions on the part of an author who shows himself master of his subject.

The career of Neville Chamberlain was more varied than was usual for an officer of the Indian Army, even in the palmy days of the Honourable East India Company's service. He commenced his military life as an Ensign in a Bengal Native Infantry Regiment, and soon afterwards became Adjutant of a corps of Irregular Cavalry; was transferred to the Governor-General's Bodyguard; was then Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, and successively Brigade-Major of a cavalry brigade and Assistant-Adjutant-General of a division; entered civil employ as Deputy-Commissioner of a frontier district, and then became Chief of Police and Military Secretary to the Punjab Board of Administration; was appointed Brigadier-General Commanding the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force; afterwards acted as Adjutant-General of the army, and then commanded a division; was mentor to H.R.H. the Duke

of Edinburgh during his Indian tour ; was charged with a mission to the Amir of Kabul, which events prevented his fulfilling ; and he finally finished a career of half a century of arduous and honourable service as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. He served throughout the First Afghan War, the Gwalior campaign, the Second Sikh War, the Indian Mutiny and six frontier wars, and received seven wounds, some of them in single combat. He was a born fighter, and his career as a cadet at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich was cut short by his indulgence in this ungovernable propensity. But destiny had marked him for a soldier ; as a boy he had run away from school and tried to enlist ; and after his enforced retirement from Woolwich he wanted to join the English Legion which was being raised by Sir de Lacy Evans to aid the cause of Queen Isabella against Don Carlos and his partisans in Spain. His military aspirations were finally satisfied by the gift of an infantry cadetship in the Bengal Army, bestowed upon him by Mr. Buckle, an East India Director and friend of his father, Sir Charles Chamberlain, who had been created a baronet for his services as a diplomatist. He had died while Neville, who was one of his sons by his second marriage, was still a child, and the boy was brought up by his mother, to whose care and training he always attributed his success in life. "Good Mothers," said the great Napoleon, "are among the chief factors in the welfare of a nation and the foundation of an empire"; and his devotion to Madame Mère was rivalled by Neville Chamberlain's affection for his mother, to whom his letters written from India in the midst of active service continually express his filial love and gratitude "for all that you have done for me throughout my life."

At that time sixteen was the age at which a youth might obtain a commission, and many boys went straight from school into the army. Candidates for the Company's artillery and engineers were required to pass through a course of instruction in the Military College at Addis-

combe, but the cavalry and infantry cadres were filled mostly by "direct" commissions. Neville Chamberlain was just seventeen when he sailed for the East Indies in one of the old East Indiamen which made the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, then the only route open to our countrymen proceeding to or returning from India ; and on the long voyage, lasting over several months, the youthful cadet or civilian profited by the advice or experience of old Anglo-Indian fellow-passengers, and gained some acquaintance with the circumstances surrounding his future life. At Madras young Chamberlain made the acquaintance and enjoyed the hospitality of old General Doreton, who had served throughout the wars with Tippoo Sultan, and Mr. Forrest remarks that the continued careers of the aged General and the young cadet who was his guest cover more than a century of Indian military history. After his arrival at Calcutta, Neville Chamberlain was posted as Ensign to the 55th Bengal Native Infantry, and went up the Ganges by boat to Rajmahal, and did garrison duty at Lucknow, then a native capital, with a Royal Court of gorgeous splendour and of squalid intrigue. The young subaltern was not without interest at headquarters, for Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, had been a friend of his father's, and was a man who remembered his old friends. When Lord Auckland decided to espouse the cause of the dethroned and exiled Shah Shujá'a, and to replace him on the throne of Afghanistan, a British force was collected for the purpose at Ferozepore, and Neville Chamberlain was transferred from the 55th to the 16th Native Infantry, which was to form part of the "Army of the Indus." It was a fine regiment, and it took the field with fifteen British officers. Neville Chamberlain, who was nearly 6 feet in height, was posted to the grenadier company. Each regiment of Native Infantry at that time had ten companies, of which one was a grenadier, and another a light company, which took respectively the right and left flanks of the battalion

in line. The grenadiers had originally been men picked from the whole regiment for their strength and courage ; they were still picked men, but now they were picked only for their height, that they might make a good show on guards of honour, etc. ; and the light company, the men of which were picked for activity and marksmanship, was employed on outpost duty, and on advanced and rear guards in services which had formerly been performed by the grenadiers. Neville Chamberlain, therefore, desired to be transferred to the "Light Bobs," as they were used in all skirmishes, and with them he would see most fighting. His favourite brother, Crawford, who had been offered an appointment to the East Company's Civil Service College at Haileybury, and had refused it in favour of a military commission, had now arrived in India, and was by the Commander-in-Chief's interest posted also to the 16th Native Infantry, so that the two brothers were close comrades in camp and quarters, to their great joy. Their regiment soon joined the Governor-General's camp at Ferozepore, where a force had been collected for the invasion of Afghanistan, mustering 10,000 fighting men, with 40,000 camp-followers, and 30,000 camels. Mule transport was not then known or used in India.

Another column was to proceed from the Bombay Presidency, and a force of 6,000 Hindustani Musalmans under British officers was raised to serve Shah Shujá'a as a personal escort and nucleus for his military establishments. But the whole enterprise was ill-conceived and ill-devised, and doomed to failure. Mr. Forrest says that "Lord Auckland had no means of knowing that Shah Shujá'a was the most incapable and feeble of men." But the Governor-General had every means of knowing it, both from the Shah's past history and from the personal intercourse of political officers with him. The fact of his weakness of character weighed in his favour as a candidate for an Oriental throne to be supported by British bayonets. Macaulay said that M. Dupleix discovered that the easiest

way for Europeans to govern India would be through the mouth of some glittering puppet dignified with the title of Nabob or Nizam, and his English rivals had adopted and acted upon this principle. Muhammad Ali Wálájáh at Arcot, and Mir Ja'áfar at Murshidabád, had proved most convenient puppets in the hands of their British Allies ; and it was expected and hoped by Lord Auckland and his advisers that Shah Shujá'a would prove an equally compliant tool. But the defect in their scheme was that they entirely failed to appreciate the character of the Afghan people, which opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the policy which had been carried out with such success throughout Hindustan.

The old "Lion of Lahore" came to meet Lord Auckland at Ferozepore with an escort of four regiments of cavalry, four troops of horse-artillery, and seven battalions of infantry, formed and trained by the French and other foreign officers in Ranjit Singh's service. The Sikh cavalry wore uniforms of the yellow colour formerly much favoured by Indian warriors, and which still distinguishes our first cavalry regiment of the Indian Army—the famous Skinner's Horse. The Sikh infantry formed line three deep, and drilled and manœuvred after the French fashion.

The army marched, and the Chamberlain brothers underwent their baptism of fire at Ghazni, where the British troops encountered the first serious resistance in their long and toilsome march via Quetta and Kandahar. Neville Chamberlain, in one of his letters, gives a vivid description of the carnage and pillage that followed the brilliant and successful storming of the strongest fortress in Afghanistan by British soldiers. His regiment remained to garrison the captured town after the army had marched on to Kabul, and it afterwards joined General Nott's division at Kandahar.

Neville Chamberlain wrote home : "I am happy to tell you that Dost Mahomed is now on his way to Hindustan, having given himself up to the British Government on the evening of November 3, so that the war in this country

may be said to be ended." It was only just beginning! From the day our troops had entered the country no British officer or soldier could stray from the protection of the camp pickets without running the risk of death from a bullet or a knife; but our political officers attributed these outrages to "robbers," and persisted in representing the Afghans as satisfied and submissive subjects of the puppet Shah. Relating the murder of Lieutenant Inverarity near Kandahar, Neville Chamberlain writes: "I suppose the robbers never will be found, and this will give you an idea of the state the country is in. It is the profession of every man to cut his neighbour's throat. Almost every man is mounted, and they think nothing of going fifty or sixty miles a day on the same horse. Our troops on the march were followed by bands of robbers, who have been annoying us, firing into our camp at night, and cutting up the unfortunate camp-followers who straggled on the line of march." When measures were taken to prevent and punish these outrages, the chief of the Ghilzai tribe sent in this sarcastic message: "You have got my forts and fields; I have retired to my high hills, and if you dislodge me from them you will earn great fame."

A succession of skirmishes with the "robbers" and "rebels" followed, in which the Chamberlain brothers so plainly proved the metal they were made of that they were both appointed to serve with the Irregular Cavalry, to their great delight. "Depend on it," wrote Neville, "the East India Company's service is *the* one." Things went from bad to worse. "Not a European can move twenty yards," wrote General Nott, "without the chance of being shot or cut down."

The General was a rough and tough old soldier, who had no patience with the rose-coloured views and rose-water methods of the political officials, and plainly told them so. "I have no right to interfere in the affairs of the Government of this country," he wrote to Rawlinson, the Political Agent at Kandahar, "and I never do; but in

reference to that part of your note where you speak of political influence, I will candidly tell you that these are not times for mere ceremony, and that, under present circumstances, and at the distance of 2,000 miles from the seat of the supreme Government, I throw responsibility to the winds, and tell you that, in my opinion, you have not had for some time past, nor have you at present, one particle of political influence in this country."

Neville and Crawford Chamberlain had both been attached to the 1st Cavalry Regiment of the Shah's contingent of Hindustani troops, 6,000 strong, which had been raised for him in India by British officers ; it was commanded by Brigadier-General (afterwards Sir Abraham) Roberts, father of Lord Roberts, and Tom Halliday, brother to the future first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was one of its officers. After the Shah had reassumed the royal authority, the force was augmented by Afghan levies under the title of Jánbáz,\* and two regiments of these troops were quartered at Kandahar. General Nott reported to the Government that they were useless and not to be trusted : "for which, as usual," he says, "I received from the supreme Government a most severe reprimand for reflecting on these pets of Macnaghten, and was told that they were *brave* and *trustworthy soldiers*, and valuable to the State ; that my conduct was *highly injudicious*." A few days later these valuable troops deserted in a body after murdering their British officers, and joined the neighbouring tribal levies who threatened an attack on Kandahar.

Lieutenant Patterson escaped with his life by feigning death when attacked by these murderous mutineers. He

\* Jánbáz—*žit*, players with life, or stakers of life. When the Persians, after experience of Russian warfare, realized the necessity of having a standing army, the two sons of Fath Ali Shah set about raising corps of Nizam or regular troops. Prince Abbas Mirza called his regular soldiers Sarbáz (players with heads), and Prince Muhammad Ali Mirza named his new levies Jánbáz (players with life). The former epithet has survived and Sarbáz is now the regular appellation in Persia for a regular soldier the latter has fallen into disuse.

was asleep in his tent, and was awoke by the fingers of his left hand being cut off. He had the presence of mind to lie perfectly still under a storm of sabre-strokes, and the mutineers left him for dead and proceeded in search of other victims. He had received fourteen wounds, and was crippled for life.

General Nott moved out of Kandahar, and routed and scattered the Afghan array in the brilliant little action which has been dignified by the name of the Battle of the Arghandab. Neville Chamberlain was wounded early in the action ; but he kept his saddle throughout the long day, and only returned at sunset from the pursuit of the flying enemy. He had a fortuate escape on this occasion, much like that of Lord Roberts in similar circumstances, through his antagonist's musket flashing in the pan. His wound proved severe enough, though he made so light of it at the time, to confine him to his bed for a month.

General Elphinstone, who commanded the British force at Kabul, was enfeebled by age in both body and mind, and a terrible disaster to our reputation and our troops was the result, unhappily not the only one experienced by our arms in former days from senility among our senior officers. When the insurrection in the city of Kabul and the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes by the mob was reported to General Elphinstone, he wrote to Sir William Macnaghten, "We must see what the morning brings, and think what can be done." But the morning brought no relief, and no resolution. Things grew worse and worse till the whole brigade, with its encumbering crowd of helpless camp-followers, perished in the passes between Kabul and Gundamak by the fire and sword of the merciless foe. But throughout the winter and spring of 1841-42 Sale at Jalálabád, and Nott at Kandahar, held out against all attempts of the Afghans to dislodge them ; and the latter not only maintained his ground, but kept the surrounding country clear of the enemy. When the avenging army of General Pollock advanced along the Khyber Pass route Nott

evacuated Kandahar, and marched to join hands with Pollock at Kabul, thus forestalling Lord Roberts' famous forced march of forty years later, but in the contrary direction. His march was opposed by "the Ghazee army" (the "robbers" and "rebels" were now recognized as Ghazees, or champions of the Holy War), and it required several smart actions to clear the way, in which Neville Chamberlain performed some brilliant feats of arms. "I charged these" (Afghans) "on our rear," he writes on one occasion, "and cut up some of them. Not having a basket hilt to my sword, I got my forefinger and thumb crimped in four places." After another fight he writes: "At night we buried the trunks of two officers (Reeves and Bury) that had been killed, their heads, arms, and legs having been taken off by the Ghazees as trophies."

On another occasion the Afghans brought two field-pieces into the field. One was captured by our infantry; the other they carried off. Neville Chamberlain, with some of his horsemen, started in pursuit. He writes: "Well, on we went, and, after going some distance, came upon the track of this said gun and soon came in sight of it, and of course we were not long in coming alongside of it and cutting down the men and gunners. I must do the drivers the justice to say that never men tried harder to do their duty and carry a gun off. Even when they were cut down, the horses were so frightened that they continued to gallop on. However, I stopped that by cutting the traces of all the horses on one side, when, of course, they pulled the gun round, got entangled, and we succeeded in stopping them. . . . On Christie" (his Commandant) "making his report to the General, he said he would mention me in his dispatch. However, he did not, but why I do not know."

Ghazni was evacuated by the Afghans, the citadel was blown up, the town burnt, and the gates of Sultan Mahmud's tomb carried away as trophies, under the mistaken impression that they were the gates of the Hindu temple of Somnath, which the Musalman conqueror had brought

off in triumph 1,000 years ago. Neville Chamberlain enters in his diary :

"September 9.—Burning the gates of the town, and bringing away the sandal-wood gates of the tomb of Mahmood. It is not possible to describe the despair of the Moolas when they found out our intentions : they threw their turbans on the ground, rushed out of the place, and, mounting their horses, rode off to Cabul, declaring that God would deliver us into the hands of the Faithful to be slaughtered for our impious attempt!"

The avenging army under General Pollock had already taken possession of Kabul when Nott's division arrived to reinforce it. Neville Chamberlain visited the ruins of General Elphinstone's cantonment, and wrote in his diary : "What scenes of woe and misery were here enacted, and this desolate place is a type of our miserable policy." He gives a most graphic account of his personal adventures in the storming and sacking of Istaliff, where he succeeded, at some risk and great trouble to himself, in rescuing the inmates of an Afghan harem from the fury of our soldiery. The account, says his biographer, "describes some terrible scenes of blood, sickening to look on, and shows how one of the bravest of men detested bloodshed." Neville Chamberlain himself writes : "As you may suppose, I returned home to breakfast disgusted with myself, the world, and, above all, with my cruel profession. In fact, we are nothing but licensed assassins." Yet we are confronted with the strange paradox that this sincere and truly humane man, who professed to detest bloodshed, was passionately fond of fighting. We are most of us unconscious hypocrites : the country squire, who subscribes to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and who hunts hares and foxes to the death ; the magistrate who, on the bench, fines a poor man for working his horse with a sore back, and then goes out and, for his relaxation, shoots pigeons out of a trap, are not themselves conscious of any inconsistency in their conduct. When Neville

Chamberlain had slain an Afghan with his own hand, he wished that he could bring him to life again ; but this did not prevent him from wishing to kill more. He writes : " Had my request been listened to, and I had been allowed to charge, I think many of the footmen would have slept the sleep that knows no waking."

He felt a supreme joy and keen pleasure in the meeting clash of thronging squadrons, " the triumph and the vanity, the rapture of the strife." His were the sentiments of the old cavalier :

" A steed, a steed of matchless speed,  
A sword of metal keen ;  
All else to noble minds is dross,  
All else on earth is mean !"

When he heard of fighting going on anywhere, he always longed to be " in the thick of the fun." " I know nothing more exciting," he says, " than hearing firing and not being able to go to the scene of action." And in another letter he writes : " The pleasurable emotions of active service are sufficient rewards in themselves, without the gilding of honours, even of a Field-Marshal, whose honour is as ephemeral as the lace that decks his coat." Though he eagerly coveted distinction, he despised honours and rewards. These seemed to him only the bubbles on the surface of the stream of life, which, as the old Highland shepherd said of his collie dog, " was full of sariousness to him ; he never could get enow o' fechtin."

Though we had inflicted heavy punishment on the Afghans, we had not cowed them, and they continued to the last to harass our retiring columns and to boast that they had driven us from their country. Neville Chamberlain was constantly engaged in rear-guard actions during the return march to India, and was severely wounded by almost the last shot fired as the column was clearing the Khyber Pass. There was at first some apprehension that his leg might require to be amputated, and he was confined for many months to a bed of sickness. His reputation was

already well established, and Lord Ellenborough appointed him to his bodyguard, a squadron of picked officers and native troopers, wearing a brilliant hussar uniform of scarlet, laced with silver braid. But Neville Chamberlain, unlike some other *beaux sabreurs*, had no fancy for military millinery and martial finery. "The fact is," he wrote, "I abhor all the eyewash of my profession, and care for nothing but what is of practical value in the field, having seen enough of service to be thoroughly convinced that show and frippery of all sorts is worthless, and that battles are won by stern discipline and organized courage. The polish evaporates before the smoke of the first cannon." But all men are not cast in an heroic mould, and Napoleon, though he knew the real worth of show and frippery as well as did Neville Chamberlain, yet valued them for the effect of their influence on the vulgar mind.

Lord Ellenborough, too, believed, or acted as if he believed, in the truth of Byron's assertion that

"Ribands, rank, lace, medals, embroidery, scarlet,  
Are things immortal to immortal man."

He made Chamberlain's regiment, the 16th Bengal Native Infantry, into a grenadier corps, as a reward for its conspicuous services in the Afghan War, and the news quickly spread through our recruiting grounds in Hindustan that the "Hossainee ka Pultun" \* had ten grenadier companies, while other regiments had only one.

Lord Ellenborough's effusiveness in the matter of pomp

\* The native name of Chamberlain's regiment. The various corps of the Indian armies were never known to the Sepoys by their official and numerical titles, but by some popular designation, generally the name of the officer who had first raised them, sometimes by some place-name; thus, the 1st Bengal Native Infantry was known as the Gillis ka Pultun, and the 2nd Grenadiers as the Burdwan ka Pultun. Sometimes these names had the prefix Daheena (right) or Ba'en (left), according as the regiment had been the first or second battalion of a previously existing corps, as "Keene ka daheena Pultun" (Keene's Right Battalion), or "Ba'en Balumtur Burrell ka Pultun" (Burrell's Volunteers, Left Battalion). These names were entered in the official Army Lists.

and display, honours and decorations, was the subject of much criticism and ridicule from his own countrymen ; but British and native Indian ideas are totally at variance on these subjects, and from the Indian point of view the pompous policy of the Governor-General was possibly the right one. His proceeding in person with the army charged with the disarmament of the Gwalior State brought Neville Chamberlain once more into the field, though he was still so weak from the effects of his wound that he had to be carried in a litter in rear of his corps. When it was about to come into action at Maharjapore he could not find his own charger, so mounted a runaway troop-horse which had thrown its rider ; and as his state of weakness prevented his controlling it, it also bolted with him and carried him through the ranks of the enemy. Fortunately, he observed, they were bad flying shots. He thus saw more of the battle than did his comrades, who through mismanagement were condemned to inaction under a heavy cannonade. "No words," he writes, "can give an idea of the effect of a round shot striking a column, particularly when in movement, and you see three or four men and horses rolling on the ground together, and the rest in the rear galloping over their fallen comrades with as much unconcern as if they were so many clods of earth." Marlowe, the Elizabethan poet, has found eloquent words to depict such a scene in the lines addressed by the great warrior and Emperor Tamburlaine to his son, commencing :

"Boy, hast thou seen a peal of ordnance strike  
A ring of pikes, mixed up with shot and horse?"\*

After the successful conclusion of this brief campaign, Neville Chamberlain's wounds gave him so much trouble that he was obliged to take sick leave to England. At home he occupied himself chiefly in sailing and yachting,

\* In Kit Marlowe's time companies of infantry comprised both "Pikes" and "Shot"—i.e., pikemen and arquebusiers or musketeers : the *arme blanche* and the *arme à feu*—generally in the proportion of two-thirds of the former to one-third of the latter.

and soon learned to make himself as much at home on the deck of his cutter as on the back of his charger.

Feeling his health quite recovered, he threw up his leave before he had enjoyed half of it, and returned to India, but arrived too late to take part in the first Sikh War, which had already been brought to a close. He was at first appointed to the Adjutancy of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, but was soon offered and accepted the post of Military Secretary to Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay. Upon Sir George leaving India, Neville Chamberlain was made an Assistant to the Resident at Indore, but the breaking out of the second Sikh War again gave him the coveted chance of active service in the field. He was appointed Staff Officer to a Cavalry Brigade. He swam across the Chenab to ascertain whether the Sikh entrenchments at Ramnagar had been really vacated, and, luckily for himself, found them untenanted.

It was on this occasion that Lord Gough dubbed him the "Bravest of the Brave," while Gough's successor, Sir Charles Napier, called him "Cœur de Lion." Neville Chamberlain expressed a hope that the old warrior would be allowed a free hand by the Government in dealing with the Indian Army, for he was one of the few clear-sighted men who perceived that under the existing system the Bengal Native Army was fast drifting to perdition. But when Sir Charles Napier alleged the danger of a mutiny of the native troops, he was so unmercifully snubbed by Lord Dalhousie that he resigned his command in dudgeon, and he was succeeded by a good old figure-head, who was contented to let everything go on according to routine, without troubling the serenity of the official world by prognostications of evil.

Neville Chamberlain plainly told Lord Dalhousie that the Bengal Army was "rotten," but few, if any others, had the courage to say so openly. It is a remarkable fact that Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded a brigade at Chillianwala, has recorded the misconduct of the 36th Native

Infantry in his private diary, but says nothing about it in his official despatch.\* For some thirty years the Bengal Army had been steadily deteriorating under a vicious system of administration, but its deterioration was steadily and wilfully ignored at the headquarters of the army and of the Government.

After the second Sikh War had been terminated by the annexation of the Punjab, Neville Chamberlain was appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Sirhind Division ; but office work and the routine of military duty in time of peace were not congenial to him, and he applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for civil employment in the newly annexed Province. He was soon made Assistant-Commissioner of the Ráwal Pindi District. Sir Henry's instructions to him in his new duties are worth quoting : "Interfere with the people *as little as possible*, and be as prompt as you can in disposing of cases. Keep the peace, and collect the revenue, and Utopia will be gained." He adds : "What we should try to do is to induce the heads of villages to look after their own affairs, and not to interfere with them except by advice." But Neville Chamberlain needed no schooling in these matters ; he could manage men as well as he could lead them, and he carried out with zeal and energy his multifarious duties in his new post, which included those of a magistrate, Revenue Collector, Superintendent of Gaols and Police, Officer in Charge of Treasury, Executive Engineer, Physician and Surgeon - General, Postmaster, Commissary of Ordnance, and Commandant of the Militia.

The work performed by him and his fellows, among whom were his friends Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson, under the guidance of Sir Henry Lawrence, converted a hostile people within the space of a few years —we might almost say months—into loyal subjects of the

\* There were many cases of misconduct of the Bengal native troops at the Battle of Chillianwala, which were all hushed up. Mr. Forrest, in his account of the formation of Pope's Cavalry Brigade in this battle, has got rather mixed ; he states that both the 9th Lancers and the 14th Light Dragoons were "on the extreme left of the brigade."

Empire. Anyone conversant with Indian history knows that the non-regulation system of civil administration and the irregular system of army organization are more popular with the natives, as being more consonant to Oriental ideas and customs, than our system of regulation provinces and regular regiments, besides being simpler and cheaper. Yet, as soon as the former system has reconciled a conquered population to our rule, we proceed to supersede it by the methods in use among European nations, because they suit ourselves best ; and they, being unsuitable to the people to whom they are applied, in a short time convert the popularity of our rule into unpopularity. Yet we go on reforming and regulating and centralizing our governmental system, with the result of making it continually appear more meddlesome and feel more burdensome to the people whom it is intended to benefit.

Neville Chamberlain was soon called from his varied duties to organize a force of military police for the Punjab, and at the same time to act as Military Secretary to the Provincial Administration. But office and routine work was always distasteful to him, and he characteristically offered to exchange his appointment with Hodson for the command of the Corps of Guides. But Hodson, equally characteristically, preferred his regimental command to the better-paid, and more influential, though less adventurous, post of Military Secretary. In 1852 war broke out with the kingdom of Burmah, and Neville Chamberlain worried Lord Dalhousie for employment on the expedition, till his lordship, in spite of his partiality for him and his high appreciation of his merits, almost lost his temper. But when soon afterwards he heard that the importunate applicant for a post of danger was dangerously ill with malarial fever he wrote to him in terms of affectionate solicitude. Neville Chamberlain's case was so serious that he found himself obliged to seek restoration to health in a more congenial climate ; and, as under the Company's rule leave to Egypt or the Cape involved the retention of appointment

and the receipt of Indian rates of pay, while leave to Europe meant forfeiture of both, he decided to spend his leave in South Africa.\* His brother Crawford, who was now Commandant of Skinner's Horse, had already been on leave to the Cape of Good Hope, and there had married a Dutch lady.

On his arrival at Cape Town he accidentally met Sir George Clerk, whom he had formerly served in the capacity of Military Secretary at Bombay. Sir George had now been sent to South Africa by Lord Aberdeen's Government to hand over the Orange River Province to the Boers in spite of the protests of the British colonists. Neville Chamberlain travelled over the country in company with Sir George and his two sons, Godfrey and Claude Clerk, the former of whom afterwards became his military secretary when he was Commander-in-Chief at Madras.† He visited Bloemfontein, crossed the Modder River on a lion-hunting expedition, and paid a visit to the famous Moshesh chief of the Basuto nation at his stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. He travelled over a great part of South Africa in a Cape waggon with a team of oxen, camping out or putting up with the Dutch farmers. He writes : "The Boers have certainly many good qualities, and I like them ; for, though they may be wanting in all the polish of civilization, they possess in the highest degree many great virtues, and at the top of the list stands hospitality." But during the greater part of his stay in South Africa he devoted himself to the sport of lion-hunting. Potchefstroom was at that time the capital of the Boer Republic, and what is now the Eastern Transvaal was a waste covered with bush and with the ruins of native kraals, the inhabitants of which had been exterminated by the Zulu Captain, Umkilikazi, who, with his Matabele horde, had swept over the land like a

\* In the days of the East India Company there was much intercourse between India and the Cape. The shops in Capetown were said to have a triple ascending scale of prices—the first for the Dutch, the second for the English, and the third and highest rate for Anglo-Indians.

† The late General Sir Godfrey Clerk, K.C.B.

destroying angel. "There was no master in the country but Umkilikazi and the lions." But the Matabele chief had now transferred the scene of his operations to the country north of the Limpopo, seeking fresh fields to conquer and finding it advisable to put the river between himself and the guns of the Boers ; and the lions remained the only masters in the devastated land which he had left. The country had hardly ever been crossed by Europeans, and was almost a virgin field for sportsmen—the expression, "Kebla Gals," in a letter (p. 278) does not refer to Kafir virgins, but is a misreading of his manuscript or misprint for "Kebla Gah," the object to which the Musalman turns in worship, here used to signify the Mecca of the sportsman. Neville Chamberlain hunted lions in the Boer fashion, shooting from the saddle, and trusting to the speed of his horse to keep him out of reach of the fangs and claws of the quarry ; and it was by the employment of these same tactics that a handful of Boers had been enabled to overcome and drive out the hosts of the Zulus and the Matabele. The Boers, however, only ventured to hunt the lion in company, and were much astonished at the Englishman's courage in entering alone upon such a dangerous sport ; and they were also greatly exercised by the shortness of his gun, a double-barrelled Minie rifled carbine, for in those days they used the smooth bore "roer," which depended for its range on the length of its barrel. Our army in India was still armed with the smooth-bore musket ; when John Nicholson went home on leave in 1850 he characteristically employed his furlough in visiting the headquarters of the great Continental armies, and brought away with him from Berlin a needle-gun, which he submitted for the consideration of our War Office, needless to say without avail ; nor is their premature rejection of the principle of the breechloader to be wondered at, for the adoption of inventions which tend to substitute mechanical skill for physical strength and courage as the determining factors of success in war must always be distasteful to professional soldiers. We wish

that our space permitted us to transcribe here some of the stories of our hero's exciting adventures with wounded lions and lionesses, narrated in his letters and diaries with his natural modesty and simplicity. Often he found the game in families or parties (seven was the largest number he ever encountered at one time, though the Boers spoke of herds of 100 lions together), and he generally succeeded in accounting for all, or most of them. On one occasion he had a narrow escape from an active lioness, at whose claws his horse experienced the fate of Tam o' Shanter's mare.\* He used dogs for the chase, which were useful in tracking and locating the lions, and in distracting their attention from their human assailant, and there were few encounters in which some of the gallant hounds were not killed, and others terribly mangled. But feelings of humanity must give way to the love of sport. Writing of one magnificent lion who faced him in the open, our hero says: "I could have admired him for hours, but die he must! The horse was unsteady, and I missed him with the first shot; he therefore charged, but I kept out of his way, and, laughably enough, his attention was taken off me by a dog, which had now come up, laying hold of the end of his tail. The dog had to pay the penalty of the joke, for the lion seized him by the loins, and though he satisfied himself without killing the intruder, he inflicted two such severe wounds as will be long in healing. The left barrel struck him through the vitals, and with a loud roar he stumbled to the ground, and after a few convulsive movements he slept with his fathers."

He writes afterwards: "The result, then, of my campaign has been eleven lions and ten lionesses—in all twenty-one, and likewise a leopard. I have seen the sport in all kinds of ground, and I imagine it to be far more exciting than tiger-shooting off a howdah. After meeting a lion I ceased to care to go after commoner game, and,

\* "The carline caught her by the rump,  
And left poor Maggie scarce a stump."

speaking without much experience, my impression is that I should always prefer hunting lions to any other kind of game." But he was soon to have a still nobler quarry, and to exchange the chase of his leonine for that of his human fellow-creatures. Lord Dalhousie wrote to him, offering him the command of the newly raised Punjab Irregular Force for the defence of the North-West Frontier, rendered necessary by the ceaseless state of warfare in which the border was kept by the raids and incursions of the Pathan tribes in the neighbouring mountains. The offer fulfilled the dearest wish of his heart, and he hastened to accept it and to return to India. He held this command for ten years, and his history during those years is the history of our relations with Afghanistan and with the tribes on our Frontier.

The Punjab Irregular Frontier Force was happily described by Lord Sandhurst as "the steel head of the lance which defends India"; it was composed of the best fighting material to be found amongst the most warlike races of our Indian Empire, and was officered by picked officers from the Indian Army. It has now been incorporated in our Regular Army, in pursuance of the crazy policy of unification and centralization which is blindly adopted in both our civil and military administration in India, for the sake of present convenience, without regard to future consequences.

Neville Chamberlain had received a brevet majority and been made a C.B. when he was promoted to Captain in his regiment, and he now received the rank of Brigadier-General while commanding the Frontier Force. Six times he led a little army into the defiles and mountain valleys to punish and coerce some refractory tribe; but the normal state of the frontier was one of incessant warfare, and the Force was in a continual state of active service. Neville Chamberlain gives the following description of the country and the people with whom he had to deal :

" Every village is in arms against its neighbour, and every man's hand against his fellow-man. The cattle are

carried off while at graze, and without an escort no one can go from one village to another. The corn sown beyond the range of the village tower is not secure, and no man quits the walls unless armed to the teeth. For you, who have never seen these races, it must be difficult to realize the state of things ; of all the lawless people I have come across, these are, I think, the worst. I fancy that few above infancy remain without imbruining their hands in blood. The result is that hardly an old man is to be seen, and every youth, as he attains to manhood, has to revenge himself for the loss of a relation, and suffer vengeance hereafter in the same manner by someone else. But notwithstanding all this, they, like everybody else, prefer living after their own fashion to being interfered with by Europeans and infidels, and before order is introduced there will be ample demand for saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal."

From this field of activity he was called to a greater one by the sudden outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny, which he had been one of the few to foresee. John Lawrence had visited the musketry school at Sialkot in consequence of rumours of dissatisfaction with the greased cartridge, and had been thoroughly deceived by the protestations of the Sepoys and the assurances of their officers. This illustrates the remark made by a shrewd old native : "There are two persons who know nothing about India—the lad who landed last week, and the man who is leaving to-morrow after thirty years' service." John Lawrence had been twenty-eight years in India ; he knew the people and their language thoroughly, and he was thoroughly deceived. This was at the end of March, and not much more than a month later the Sepoys at Sialkot shot their officers who had so profoundly believed in their loyalty and good-will.

So utterly unforeseen was the Mutiny that when, on May 10, 1857, the Sepoy regiments at Meerut rose in revolt, slew their British officers, and set fire to their cantonments, they were allowed to complete their desperate work and march away to Delhi unmolested, though there were in the

same station a regiment of British cavalry (the Dragoon Carabineers), a battalion of British infantry (the 60th Royal Rifles), and some troops and companies of the Honourable Company's European Artillery. Authority for the moment was dazed and paralyzed by the shock. But the men in the Punjab were ready for any emergency. On the news of the outbreak at Meerut being flashed by wire to John Lawrence, he promptly took measures for disarming the large force of regular Sepoys at Peshawar and Lahore. He had all the letters addressed to native officers and Sepoys opened in the post-office, and from their contents learned that there was no time to be lost. Neville Chamberlain wrote to his mother : "The correspondence just intercepted shows some of the Moolas are already at work, but I hope they are too late in the field. The electric telegraph has been our best friend, and has been of so much assistance as to be another proof of an overruling Providence."

His old regiment, the 16th Grenadiers, was one of the corps disarmed at Lahore. When the order was given to "pile arms" on parade, the men hesitated to obey for a few minutes, but the sight of the lighted port-fires in the hands of the European gunners cowed them, and they sullenly piled arms. Neville Chamberlain was appointed to the command of the Movable Column formed of loyal troops to scour the country, repress disorders, and disarm the suspected Sepoy corps. His Staff-Officer was Lieutenant Roberts of the Bengal Artillery, now Lord Roberts, whose fame and whose exploits were destined to rival, and even to surpass, those of his distinguished chief.

Neville Chamberlain was soon after appointed Adjutant-General in the Army of India, and joined the heroic little army which was holding the ridge in front of Delhi, more besieged itself than besieging. Mr. Forrest has before this told the tale of the great Mutiny campaign, but it is a tale that will bear repeating. The young Adjutant-General was virtually the commander of the troops before Delhi, and was the life and soul of the operations. Severely wounded

in one of the desperate encounters with the vastly superior numerical forces of the enemy, he yet continued to visit the outposts and direct the siege operations in a litter, and continued to perform his duties as Chief Staff-Officer till after the fall of the city. He was offered by Lord Clyde the command of the cavalry of the army for the campaign in Rohilkund ; but he was so crippled by his wound that, to his great regret, he decided that his duty compelled him to decline it, as he could not carry out the work efficiently enough to satisfy his own high standard. He was never happy in office work, and he took the earliest opportunity of resigning his high position on the staff and returning to the more congenial work of Brigadier-General commanding his beloved Frontier Force. When he was offered the post of Military Secretary at the India Office, he wrote that he was determined to decline it, whatever the salary.

" My natural calling is with men and action, not pen and ink (I often wish the inventor had not registered his patent), and I will never be a slave of the pen if I can avoid it. The difficulty is to avoid it, though, for there are so many persons to be informed and satisfied on the least occasion of any exercise of authority that one ought to have quills growing out of the ends of one's fingers, with a never-failing supply of ink. I declare to you I quite dread any disturbance or difficulty, not on account of the thing itself, or for the responsibility or trouble it involves, for neither of them is worth a thought, but because of the sheets of foolscap they necessitate ; and the retracing one's way through every argument, long after one has come to a conclusion, is wearisome in the extreme, and nothing but a sense of duty makes me put my shoulder to this portion of my work with zeal. We require some reformer to arise to combat this evil in official life, like Martin Luther did in the Church."

He embodied these views in his proposals for the re-organization of the Bengal Native Army which he drafted at Murree, whither he had gone on leave to recuperate his

health, and where he had for coadjutors Herbert Edwardes and his brother Crawford. From thence he was summoned to crush and investigate a formidable conspiracy hatched among our Sikh troops at Dera Ismail Khan.

With regard to this little-known incident of our Indian military history, John Lawrence wrote to Lord Stanley : "Contrary to sound policy, but driven by the sheer necessity of our position, I have raised large bodies of Punjabi soldiers, and have still to raise more. I have 57,000 of these troops on my rolls. We have only Punjabi troops with which to hold the country, and aid in reconquering Hindustan. The troops have behaved admirably hitherto, but it is not in human nature that they should not see of how much importance they are to us, how much the success of the present struggle depends on them. It is not wise, it is not politic, that this should go on."

He also wrote to Lord Clyde : "It strikes me that there is some danger that our officers, in their horror of John Pandy,\* may go to the other extreme and make too much of John Singh. We can no more rest our trust on the Punjabi than on the Hindustani."

These words deserve notice at the present time, when two-thirds of the recruits for our Indian Army are drawn from the single province of the Punjab. The precautions considered necessary fifty years ago to prevent a recurrence of the Mutiny have one by one been abandoned, and the fusion of the separate Presidential Armies into one Indian Army, whatever may be said for it from a military point of view, was a grave political blunder.

For his conduct of the operations against the marauding clans of the Mahsud Waziris in 1860, Neville Chamberlain was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. He had already conducted to a successful conclusion five military expeditions of the kind which are now called

\* Mangal Pandy was the name of the Sepoy who fired the first shot in the Mutiny, and from him the mutineers were frequently spoken of as Pandies. Singh is the common cognomen of the Sikhs.

"punitive," in the hope of depriving them of the character of regular war. Two of these expeditions had been directed against the tribe of the Orakzais, one against the Turis of the Kurram Valley, and two others against the Kabul Khel and the Madsud clans of the Waziri tribe respectively. These expeditions, into tracts hitherto untrodden by any European, among wild glens and rugged mountains, and his winter tours on the frontier, caused great pleasure to our hero, who combined a genuine love and admiration for the beauties of Nature, with his passion for wild adventure and mortal danger. In the words of the Black Douglas, he loved better to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak; and he said on one occasion, "I would sooner be a Bushman gazing on a beautiful sunset in South Africa than a Duke in a London fog." The last and most severe of all the frontier operations undertaken by him was the Umbeyla Campaign in 1863, which was supposed at first to involve merely a display of force and a military promenade, but which developed into the most serious and strenuous struggle that had ever taxed the energies of the Frontier Force and its Commander.

A fanatical Indian Mussalman, who had imbibed the tenets of the Wahhabi sect on a pilgrimage to Mecca, had on his return founded a colony of Gházis, or Islamite warriors, at Sittana on the Indian border, to carry on a holy war against the Sikh pagans; and when we succeeded to the government of the Punjab the war continued to be waged against the Farangi infidels. The Gházi colony was, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, recruited by many refugees from Hindustan, and became such an annoyance to our border that in 1860 General Sir Sydney Cotton led a British force from Peshawar and destroyed Sittana. The fanatics, driven from their stronghold, established themselves at Malka, somewhat further from the frontier, but still near enough to cause us annoyance. In 1863 they reoccupied Sittana and troubled our borders, chiefly by exciting to our prejudice the fanatical feelings of

the border tribes. In 1863 it was determined to send another expedition to chase them from Malka, and Sir Neville was nominated to its command. It was known that the Hindustani fanatics could oppose no serious resistance; and it was also believed that the Pathan tribes of the border were not inclined to support them. It was, therefore, supposed that the business would be speedily and easily disposed of. But the border tribes regarded our incursion into their territory as an intolerable provocation; some say that the Hindustanis had persuaded them that our intention was to annex the whole country, while others say that our entering upon their territory without first obtaining their permission was the cause of their anger. At all events, our force had no sooner cleared the Umbeyla Pass than its further progress was impeded by the Bunerwal tribesmen, and Sir Neville was obliged to halt and fortify his camp against their daring and persistent attacks. And as soon as the fighting commenced all the tribes of the border joined in, and thousands of volunteers from Swat and Bajaur flocked to the holy war. The British camp was protected by a ring of outposts occupying the craggy eminences surrounding it, the possession of which by the enemy would have rendered the camp untenable.

For a whole month the camp was practically besieged by the tribesmen, and furious contests were waged for the possession of the commanding heights. Two of them especially, the Eagle's Nest and the Crag Picket, were desperately attacked and stubbornly defended. The positions were several times carried by desperate rushes of fanatical swordsmen, and had to be retaken at the point of the bayonet. The Crag Picket was three times lost and won. It became known to the Pathans as the "qatlghar," or "slaughter-house."\* On the third occasion

\* Sir Alfred Lyall makes the Wahhabi missionary say:

"Do I care for noisy menace, or the weight of an Indian blow?  
I, who stormed the English picket on the skirt of the Siah Koh,  
Where the wild Bajaur mountain men lay choking in their blood,  
And the Kafirs kept their footing, for I slew one where he stood."

of its re-capture Sir Neville himself led the desperate charge which dislodged the brave and determined men who freely sacrificed their lives in vain to retain it. In doing so he was for the seventh and last time so seriously wounded that he was obliged to resign his command. The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, had just died, and his council, with the usual timidity of consultative bodies, wished to abandon the enterprise and withdraw the troops; but Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief, was luckily of an opposite opinion. He sent up strong reinforcements; among them was the 23rd Regiment of Pioneers, commanded by Colonel Charles Chamberlain, the General's brother, who was also severely wounded in the ensuing operations.\* The tribesmen had suffered such heavy losses that they became dispirited, and, despairing of success, they dispersed to their homes; and Major-General Garvock, who succeeded to Sir Neville's command, was able to assume the offensive and bring the affair to a successful termination.

It was four months before Sir Neville Chamberlain was sufficiently recovered from his wound to be able to undertake the voyage home, to enjoy the repose and change of climate which he sorely needed. At home he purchased a yacht, and amused himself by cruising and shooting. In 1868 Her Majesty Queen Victoria selected him to accompany H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh on his tour through her Indian Empire. Mr. Forrest is, however, a little previous in giving Her Majesty the title of Queen-Empress

\* The 23rd Pioneers were composed entirely of Mazhabi Sikhs—*i.e.*, Sikhs by religion (Mazhab), and not by race; they were pariahs, or outcasts from Hinduism, who gained a social status by adopting the Sikh religion, just as the Shanars of Madura and Tinnevelly adopted the Christian religion.

Colonel Charles Chamberlain used to wear in uniform a white linen collar of quite Gladstonian dimensions, in order, it was said, to conceal the scar left by his wound. When he commanded his regiment in Sir Robert Napier's expedition to Abyssinia in 1868, the wags of the army pretended that the whole of his slender allowance of baggage consisted of shirt-collars, for he never appeared without a spotlessly clean one.

on this occasion, as she was not proclaimed by that title for nearly ten years more. Sir Neville attended the Duke throughout his tour in India and thereafter was a *persona grata* to the Royal Family; after his return to England the Queen invited him to Osborne House, and entertained him there as her guest. There he made acquaintance with the Crown Prince of Prussia, the husband of our Princess Royal, for whom he expressed great admiration both as a man and a soldier. "If all princes were like him," he wrote, "there would be less chance of the decline of government by monarchy."

Sir Neville was at Ems in 1870, arriving there just in time to witness the famous "Ems incident." The French visitors at Ems received the news of the declaration of war with shouts of joy. Before the Chamberlains (his sister was with him) could leave the place, trains were arriving full of French prisoners. From Montreux, where they spent the winter, Neville Chamberlain watched the progress of the war with the keenest interest. He wrote to his brother Crawford: "I read of it by day, and dream of it by night, and, though it may seem strange of me to say so, I am certainly more morally and mentally interested in it than I was as an actor in the Mutiny." In the spring he visited the theatre of the war and its battle-fields, and many of his keen and critical observations thereon are recorded. He spent much time in travelling, and proposed to the India Office to proceed to Turkistan to find out what the Russians were doing in those regions; but his offer was not accepted. In 1873 he married, and purchased a small property near Southampton, where he proposed to settle down and end his days in peace. He was now a Lieutenant-General, and, in the summer of 1875, was offered the command of the Madras Army, which he accepted after some hesitation, thinking it his duty to continue to render service to the State as long as he was able to do so. On his acceptance of the office he was invested with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Most Illustrious

Order of the Star of India, and of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

Mr. Forrest has indited an eloquent panegyric on the services rendered by the old Coast Army, our most ancient military force in India, to the British Empire. "The story of the native army of Fort St. George," he says, "is a noble tale of loyalty, attachment, and valour"; he might have added, very badly requited. But the Grenadiers, whose bayonet charge broke the French battalion at the battle of the Sugar-loaf Rock, were not Sepoys, but belonged to the Madras-European Regiment\*. He writes: "It was the first battalion of the light regiment of Madras Infantry which was the favourite corps of the Duke of Wellington. They were with him on every service, and the men of the regiment used to call themselves Wellesley ka Pultun (Wellesley's Regiment), and at Assaye, which made us the masters of India, they proved themselves worthy of the proud title." The battalion referred to was the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry, but it was not made a light infantry corps till 1812, and it was not at Assaye, having been detached from the army on some other service on that memorable day, but it was engaged at Argaum. It is now the 63rd Regiment Palamcottah Light Infantry in the Indian Army, but its title of Wellesley ka Pultun has not been preserved, though the 104th Regiment (late 4th Bombay Rifles), which was present at the storming of Seringapatam, has been lately complimented with the official title of "Wellesley's Rifles."

A severe famine devastated the Madras Presidency during Sir Neville's tenure of command, and it is characteristic of him that he excused himself from accompanying the Duke of Buckingham to attend Lord Lytton's tinsel Proclamation parade at Delhi on the plea that he must remain at Madras to combat the famine. In visiting a famine hospital he caught an attack of cholera, which nearly carried him off. He afterwards visited Hyderabad to

\* Now the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

inspect the Subsidiary Force at the great cantonment of Secunderabad, and was much struck by the loyalty of the native population to their sovereign, the Nizam. He wrote : " It is true that the population is chiefly Hindoo-Mahratta\*, but anyone who knows the native mind, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, must be alive to the fact that, with all our desire to do justly and to love mercy, the great majority of the people would be glad to see us depart, and would rejoice to return to the state of things we pride ourselves on having delivered them from. We are aliens. We are wanting in every bond which unites different peoples together. Further, we are conquerors, and we are of a stamp who say and act as if whatever we think or do is best."

Words of wisdom, worthy of all attention at the present day.

He was summoned from his Madras command to undertake a special embassy to Kabul to counteract the intrigues of a Russian envoy, who had been employed in stirring up the Amir Sher Ali Khan to acts of hostility against the Indian Government, with only too great success. The unfortunate Amir was so pitifully deceived by his lying assurances of Russian support that he opposed the advance of the British Embassy through the Kyber Pass by an armed force. The Second Afghan War followed, and Sir Neville remained with the Viceroy during its continuance, advising him on matters of strategy and policy. His originally strong constitution was now worn out by wars and wounds, and his state of health precluded him from obtaining a command in the field. Lord Lytton proposed to recommend him for a peerage in connection with his services in settling our relations with Afghanistan, but he replied to the Viceroy's proposal as follows :

" Should anything come of your recommendation, I shall

\* Sir Neville was in error here. Though there are Mahrattas in the western districts of the Nizam's dominions, the great majority of the Hindoo population inhabiting them are of Telugu nationality and speech.

have no hesitation in respectfully declining it, for I have neither the income, nor the broad acres, nor any of the other adjuncts which ought, in my opinion, to be associated with a peerage."

The advice which he tendered to the Viceroy, recorded here in his letters and minutes, strikes us as singularly prudent and clear-sighted, both on political and military questions. In his long letter to Lord Lytton, dated July 7, 1879, he wrote as follows :

"I dare say you will recollect that, when I first saw you at Coonoor, I stated my conviction of the urgent necessity of keeping the presidential armies as much as possible separate from each other; and I am very glad to find that you fully accept this principle by speaking of that system as that of the 'water-tight compartments.'"

But when Lord Lytton's attempt to make Afghanistan "strong, united, and friendly," had utterly broken down, and he had executed a *volte-face*, and essayed a policy of division and of disintegration, Sir Neville refused to lend his countenance to the new departure, and, indeed, strongly condemned it, and the Viceroy's affection for him cooled. To the last he protested against the dangerous policy pursued by our Indian administrators of putting all our eggs into one basket. On his return from India, in 1881, the Duke of Cambridge begged him to use his influence "at the India Office and elsewhere not to allow unreasonable changes to be made in the native armies and system of administration." But after his death the centralization which he had so strongly condemned was carried out to the fullest extent, with a serene disregard of future consequences. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*—Fate will take its course.

Sir Neville Chamberlain's active career of half a century of strenuous and honourable service was now finished, and for twenty years more he led the life of a country gentleman on his little estate of Lordswood in Hampshire. He survived his wife and most of his relatives, and on

February 18, 1902, sank peacefully to rest, dying quietly in his bed after so many perils past. His epitaph is thus pronounced by his biographer: "The best word said of him was by another Warden of the Marches—' Chamberlain was the very soul of chivalry.'"

The volume contains two portraits of Sir Neville. The frontispiece represents him in Field-Marshal's uniform, with all his medals and decorations; the other portrait shows him as a younger man, when he had just been promoted to the rank of Major-General, in plain clothes. He should have been painted by some great battle-painter, like Lady Elizabeth Butler, as a young captain of Irregular Horse 'fauchant à grands coups de sabre dans un groupe noir,' or riding his charger over the prostrate bodies of the turbaned foe, like Prince Eugene of Savoy in the picture by Von Schuppen in the Royal Gallery at Turin.

The book is well got up and printed, as might be expected in any work published by Messrs. Blackwood and Sons; but it contains errors due to careless proof-reading, which might be corrected in a later edition. This is particularly the case with the names or numbers of regiments. At page 6, in the preface, Colonel Havelock's regiment, the 14th Light Dragoons, is called the 12th Dragoons; on page 6 Colonel Doveton is said to have commanded the "1st Light Madras Army," meaning the 1st Madras Light Cavalry; at page 170 the 16th Grenadiers are called the 10th Grenadiers. When a list of corps is given they might as well be given in their proper order, and not mixed, as on page 20, where the 3rd Buffs are placed after the 13th Foot and the 16th Lancers after both of them. It is usual to put cavalry before infantry, and regiments of each arm in order of seniority. At page 427 No. 3 Punjab Light Field Battery is called "No. 3 Punjab Light Infantry." Some of the mistakes are apparently due to a difficulty in deciphering the manuscript of letters and diaries; for instance, on page 121 Neville Chamberlain gives a list of the corps composing General Nott's column

as follows : " H.M. 41st, 42nd, companies 2, 16, 38, 42, 43 Bengal N.I., Shah Shuja 3rd Infantry Corps, Bombay Troop H.A. ditto, 9-pounder Fort Battery, both Europeans." H.M. 42nd Foot were not at Kandahar nor anywhere near it; the comma should come after H.A., not after ditto, which refers to the word "Bombay," and "Fort" is a misprint for "Foot."

At page 175 Assunghur is printed for Asseerghur ; on pages 454 and 455 Reischwiller is put for Fröschwiller, and Mayeuse for Mayence. The former is probably Sir Neville's own mistake ; it looks as if he had confused the two names Reichshoffen and Fröschwiller.

At page 495 he is made to say, "All that remains to be done is to extinguish each fire as it burns out"; what he wrote, doubtless, was "as it bursts out." At page 88 Charikar is printed Chanikar, and on the next page "Shah's regiment" requires the definite article before it. On page 124 the statement that the garrison of Jalálabád "were kept in constant but successful skirmishes" with the enemy seems to require the insertion of the word "engaged" or "employed." By a printer's blunder the author is made to say, on page 228, that Lord Gough's "line of communication were well guarded."

The "Letter from Neville Chamberlain describing the murder of Shah Shooja," referred to in the heading of chapter v., is not given in the text. We confess to ignorance of the geographical position of Newmarcki, the defile of which Napoleon is stated to have carried (page 127). Neville Chamberlain's entry in his diary of December 28, 1843, is given twice over, first on page 165 and again at page 173. Kutub Minar does not mean "Tower of Faith"; it means "Tower of the Polestar"; so called because it was built by the Emperor Kutub ud Dín, whose title signifies "Polestar of the Faith." Musalman Mulas should not be called priests, as at page 416. The Prophet (on whom be peace !) said Lā Ráhibánia fi'l Islámia (there is no priestcraft in Islam). The Hindustani

Musalmans, who founded the colony at Sittana on the North-west Frontier, are erroneously spoken of on page 414 as "Hindu fanatics." But perhaps the worst blunder in the book is the statement made on page 416, and repeated on the next page, that Sir Henry Cotton led a military force to dislodge these same fanatics from Sittana in 1860. The well-known peaceful proclivities and profession of Sir Henry Cotton invest this statement almost with the character of a gross libel! Can it have had its origin in a nefarious plot hatched by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to disparage Sir Henry Cotton's high reputation among his Indian friends?

## THE PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES IN NORTHERN INDIA.\*

By S. H. FREMANTLE, Esq., I.C.S.

SEVEN years ago a paper on "Agricultural Banks or Co-operative Credit Societies in India" appeared in this *Review*† by Mr. C. W. Whish, and the best means of encouraging their formation was then discussed by various writers. At that time, though promising experiments had been made in the North-West Provinces and in the Punjab in founding such societies, there was no law giving them a legal status, and no provision for an expert authority to control and supervise them. Mr. Wolff, whose name is a household word to those interested in co-operative banking, in the paper referred to above urged the necessity for legislation, and at the same time gave it as his opinion that Raiffeisen societies "seemed particularly adapted to India, where they had remarkably honest people to deal with." The question was, in the year 1904, taken up in earnest by the Government, and the Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed. In October of the same year Registrars, whose sole duty is to foster and control co-operative societies, were appointed in the larger provinces, and it is from this date that real progress may be said to have begun. Less than five years have since elapsed, and the object of the present paper is to give a short account of the progress of the movement in Upper India, as far as rural societies are concerned. I have omitted all reference to Bombay and Madras, as not being sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of those provinces. I wish especially to interest in this subject the Indian students who are pursuing their education in this country, for they can have no better way of indulging their feelings of loyalty to their native land than by actively supporting institutions which

\* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

† July, 1903, pp. 1-14.

stimulate industry and thrift, and develop independence of character and public spirit. The extraordinary economic results which have followed the formation of agricultural credit societies in Germany, and of urban societies in Italy and elsewhere are well known, but I cannot forbear from quoting Mr. H. W. Wolff's inspiring words : " Go into the valley of the Rhine, where the Raiffeisen banks have been longest at work, and observe to what extent homes have been made habitable and comfortable ; how culture has been improved ; how machinery has been purchased and the best manures and feeding-stuffs ; how the vintner has been enabled to sell his produce for cash at double the former rate of return . . . how small industry and trade have been developed ; how the usurer, once all powerful, has been driven out of the field, and those once poor men have become small capitalists. . . . 'I have seen a new world,' broke out in admiration the Hungarian deputy charged with a mission of inquiry, 'a world of brotherhood ; it is a world of brotherly love and mutual help, where everyone is the protector and assister of his neighbour.' "

And still greater economic results may be expected in rural India. Agriculture is and must ever be the chief industry of the country. The land is cut up into small and often tiny farms. As population increases cultivation becomes more and more intensive, and requires a greater expenditure of capital. That capital can at present only be obtained at very high rates of interest, and in periods of stress and famine can often not be obtained at all. Inquiries instituted last year in the United Provinces gives the following result :

"The most usual rate for loans to cultivators in these provinces is  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna in the rupee per month, or  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. In Budaun even the larger tenants have to pay this rate. But in most districts the more substantial men can get loans at 24 or 25 per cent. per annum, and this rate usually prevails for all classes of cultivators in the vicinity of large towns where moneylenders compete for custom, and in the Western districts (Meerut division),

where money is easier and produce less precarious. Six months' interest is the minimum which the moneylender will take, so if a man is compelled to borrow money—say, two months before the harvest, he will have to repay at harvest time with full six months' interest, and the rate will rise to over 100 per cent. per annum. In the Eastern districts a system called 'up' prevails under which interest is payable in kind at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  seer per month of any grain which happens to be in season for each rupee of principal borrowed. The rate of interest on a price basis of 25 seers per rupee works out 24 per cent. per annum, but if prices are as they were this year only 10 seers per rupee the rate becomes 60 per cent."

These are the prevailing rates in one province. In Eastern India they are at least as high. In Western and Southern India they are lower but still unnecessarily high to judge by Western standards, and it is thus obvious what a large scope there is for the foundation of village banking institutions. Such societies are, or eventually will be, closely connected with a central bank which itself is or will be in touch with a large banking corporation, and through it with the world's money market. For urban co-operative banks there is at least equal scope. It is only quite recently that the joint stock banks have had any branches or offices except in large commercial centres, and there are even now places of 30,000 or even 50,000 inhabitants without a single bank. The professional and commercial classes require a bank in which to deposit their savings. Industry and commerce require advances. These wants can best be met by co-operative banks. The field is cleared and ready for occupation. It remains only for co-operation to come in and take possession.

Such, in brief, are the economic prospects of co-operative credit in India. Before giving an account of what has been done to start societies, I will say a few words about their educational value. It is sometimes forgotten that no society can be really and permanently successful unless the members

thereof—poor and illiterate peasants though they may be—have become aware of certain principles, and have learnt certain simple lessons—the lessons of straightforwardness in application for loans, of punctuality in repayment, of mutual support and assistance in safeguarding and forwarding the interests of their society. Having learnt these lessons they will be able to control their society, and much more than their society. There are but few of the societies with which I am acquainted whose co-operative education is so complete as to enable them to stand alone, but already I know of several in which the committees are not only managing their society successfully, but have turned their attention also to arbitration, to medical relief, and to agricultural and industrial experiments on a small scale. It is to these committees that we must, in my opinion, look not only for the reconstitution of village panchhayets, but for the formation of village agricultural associations whose object is to bring the Agricultural Department and the district associations connected with it into closer touch with the actual tiller of the soil, and thereby to ensure full advantage being taken of scientific developments. This is the function which is being successfully discharged by the village agricultural associations of Japan.

Most of my readers are, no doubt, aware of what a co-operative credit society is; but I must acknowledge that I had myself, until brought closely into touch with the societies, but very vague ideas of their principles and methods of working, and it may very well be that some of you may be in a similar case. I hope, therefore, that those of you are fully acquainted with the subject will bear with me while I repeat a somewhat elementary description of the main types of societies which I included in a pamphlet published last year, and entitled "Co-operative Credit Societies in the United Provinces."

"A co-operative credit society is a collection of persons requiring credit who combine in order to obtain that credit on more favourable terms. Its first and principal function,

therefore, is to provide its members with cheap and easy credit. A true co-operative society, however, does more than this. Experience shows that the mere provision of cheap credit, unless, at the same time, the people are educated to a proper knowledge of its use, tends to make them more indebted, and is therefore a very doubtful benefit. For a man who owes Rs. 1,000 at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is in no way better off than one who owes Rs. 500 at 25 per cent. The second function, therefore, of co-operative credit societies may be said to be the exercise of such control over the loans to its members as may discourage improvident borrowing while making full provision for real wants. Such societies may also be said to have a third function—*i.e.*, to teach an industrious but improvident people how, by the exercise of thrift and self-denial and business-like habits, capital may be gradually accumulated sufficient for all the ordinary needs of production. The efficiency of a society may therefore be judged by the extent to which the second and third functions are recognized, and by the success which has been obtained in carrying them out."

There are two main types of societies. The Schultz-Delitz type of society is one in which members take up at least one share. Liability is limited—*i.e.*, a man is liable only to the extent of his share. It distributes profits as soon as a share is fully paid up, but the rate of dividend is sometimes limited by the bye-laws, so that the main object of the society—the provision of cheap credit—may not be lost sight of. The second main type of society is that called after Raiffeisen. In it there are no (or merely nominal) shares, and unless they have wealthy members ready to make deposits they are financed entirely by borrowed capital. Such societies distribute no dividend, and all profits go to the reserve, which is used to increase the working capital of the bank, and to provide a sinking fund for repayment of debt, and ultimately to reduce the rate of interest on loans. The liability of each member is limited—that is to say, each person is liable for the whole deb-

incurred by the society. There is a third type of society called after Luzzatti. In it the share money is paid up by small yearly, half-yearly, or monthly instalments, so that even a poor man can become a shareholder, and the liability is unlimited.

Before the passing of the Act some societies had been started in the three provinces of Northern India—*i.e.*, Bengal, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, and in the latter province, owing to the interest taken in the subject by Lord Macdonnell when Lieutenant-Governor, there were quite a large number of societies. Nearly all of these were constituted strictly on Raiffeisen models. They had no shares, and the liability of the members was unlimited. The rate of interest at which they advanced loans was by Indian standards very low, and they had not, as was to be expected of new institutions, succeeded in attracting the confidence of the genuine investor. Consequently their funds were supplied by wealthy zemindars and money lenders from philanthropic and public spirited motives. The originators of these societies, however, had little or no knowledge of the aims and methods of co-operative banking, the capital supplied was seldom sufficient, and the management seldom efficient enough to create a real interest among the members, and the tendency was to regard the society not as their own concern which they managed themselves, and which the public opinion of their fellows bound them to assist, but as a new form of Government, "takavi," which they were at liberty to utilize in obtaining as large loans as they could, and delaying repayment as long as possible. In a few cases where the manager of the society was a man of influence, public spirit, intelligence, and industry, the societies achieved considerable success as loan-giving institutions, but they depended to a great extent on the one man at their head, and if for any reason he had not been able to carry on the work the society would almost certainly have had to be dissolved.

In these early days the capital was almost entirely

supplied by philanthropic persons at the low rates of 4, 5, or 6 per cent. It is evident that the supply of money at this rate must be greatly restricted, and that funds will not be available for all the wants of the members, and they will be thrown back into the hands of their money lenders. Under these circumstances they cannot be expected to feel any great interest in the success of the society.

Now it is essential to the permanent success of co-operative credit societies, and more especially to those on the Raiffeisen system, that the management be truly democratic, and it is evident that this result cannot be brought about until the members themselves recognize the advantages they derive from the existence of the society, and their interest in its operations is aroused. Accordingly, on the appointment of the registrars, one of their first aims was to attempt to instruct the members of the existing societies in the principles and methods of co-operative banking, and this instruction has been one of their chief duties up to the present time. Different measures have been adopted in different provinces to interest the members in the management.

#### VARIOUS SYSTEMS : BENGAL.

In Bengal, where the societies have been from first to last under the control of Mr. W. R. Gourlay, who has done so much to secure that the spread of the movement in India should be on purely co-operative lines, the Raiffeisen form has been strictly maintained. The first step taken was to raise the rate of interest payable by members to their societies in order that there should be no difficulty in raising sufficient capital. The societies can now afford to pay a rate of interest sufficient to attract the deposits of private investors, and it is no longer necessary to rely on the restricted supplies provided from philanthropic motives. The result is that the societies are now provided with sufficient funds to pay off the old debts of their members and to provide for all reasonable wants in the future. The

members thus recognize the advantage they derive from their society, and are beginning to interest themselves in its success accordingly.

Mr. Gourlay insists on unlimited liability. He writes, in his report for 1906-7 : "It is on account of the unlimited liability that the members are so careful whom they allow to enter, and it is the knowledge that they are all liable for the debts of the society which makes them look so carefully after the work of the Committee. Members who have little to lose may not take such a keen interest in the society's affairs as those who have to see that the others play fair." A second principle closely connected with the preceding is that the area must be restricted. On this Mr. Gourlay writes : "Unlimited liability necessarily involves a very restricted area, one village, often only one hamlet of a village, and it is for this reason that the number of members in a Bengal society is often so small. The area must be so small that every man knows all his neighbours, and all about his neighbour's property. If the bullock purchased with the society's money dies, the whole village is cognisant of the fact ; the exact amount of produce which each gets from the land is known, and it is this knowledge which forms the great safeguard. It is this knowledge which takes away all the terrors of unlimited liability."

#### THE PUNJAB.

The circumstances of the Punjab are very different from those of Bengal. The latter is a country of large landlords whose estates are split up into innumerable petty holdings, which require little capital to work them, and yield small profits, though sufficient for the simple wants of the cultivators. These are, as a class, illiterate and unenterprising, and their dwellings are more often grouped in small hamlets than concentrated in village sites. They have no substantial security to offer, and can only obtain loans with great difficulty and at exorbitant rates. In the Punjab, on the other hand, the land is largely occupied and cultivated by

peasant proprietors who have large holdings, and valuable cattle to work them, and derive very considerable profits in favourable seasons. They live in large and substantial villages, and are usually intelligent and enterprising. Their credit is generally good, and they can obtain loans at fairly reasonable rates of interest.

Accordingly we find that development in the Punjab has been on very different lines. Mr. Wilberforce, who has been registrar in that province from the commencement, has adopted a type of society based on that popularized in Italy by Signor Luzzatti. The system was desired to give the members a direct interest in the welfare of the society, and so provide an incentive to saving. Every member is required to purchase one or more shares, according to his status. The value of a share is usually Rs. 100. The money is not paid down all at once, but is made up by ten annual payments of Rs. 10. No dividend is due until the share money has been paid up in full—*i.e.*, until ten years have elapsed. Mr. Wilberforce gives the following explanation of his preference for this system :

"This type of society has two great advantages. First, it gives every member a tangible interest in its welfare. Now that Government has definitely refused to recover debts held by arbitrators to be due as arrears of land revenue the dealings of a society financed or secured by a few wealthy men are as unsafe as those of individual. The position of a society can only be secure when supported by genuine popular feeling, which is rendered many times more genuine when based on a tangible interest. The second and greater advantage is that though material prosperity is increased by ability to borrow at low instead of high rates of interest, its fundamental basis is thrift. Though encouraging thrift among the Punjabi peasants might be likened to bringing coal to Newcastle, the Punjabi has much to learn regarding its proper application. Naturally thrifty as he is, no agriculturist in the world misapplies and squanders his savings like the Punjabi peasant with a small

holding. Up to the harvest he lives on practically nothing and denies himself every luxury. But afterwards he either buries his profits or more often considers himself a temporary millionaire. He buys jewels for his wife and children, and spends the rest of his hard-earned savings at the nearest fair. He squanders or buries his savings because he has no attractive means of investing them. For him a type of co-operative society is required which will provide not only an incentive to thrift but also an attractive means of applying and retaining his savings. Depositing his money so as gradually to create a useful balance in his favour does not attract him. But to become a shareholder in his society and thereby to create for himself and his family a permanent pension is a totally different matter. He looks on the dividends which he will receive after ten years as a pension, to obtain which he is willing to forego all his petty extravagancies. If at the same time he is able to help to establish an institution which will finance him at moderate rates of interest when he desires to borrow, the advantage of his investments is doubled. The advantages of this scheme seem to appeal especially to the Punjabi agriculturist. Many are subscribing the same amount which they pay for land revenue, so that after ten years their land may be to some extent free of revenue, and at some subsequent period entirely free. Many make subscriptions in their wives' names to counteract to some extent the hardships of their widowhood, and many women insist on money presents instead of jewels, and place the proceeds with the society. In one society at Layallpur practically all the women in the village have joined."

Nearly all the Punjab societies are now organized on the above lines. Besides their share capital, which is quickly increasing, they have attracted a large sum, nearly one lakh of rupees, in deposits from the members themselves, and this fact is at once evidence of the confidence they inspire among their members, and the best security for their further success. In these societies also liability is

unlimited. They have not yet succeeded in attracting deposits from outside, and their great want is more capital.

### THE UNITED PROVINCES.

The United Provinces occupy an intermediate position between Bengal and the Punjab, but conditions more nearly resemble those of the former province. Many old societies started in 1900 and 1901 under the auspices of Sir Anthony, now Lord, Macdonnell were in existence, but in most of them the interest of the founders had flagged, and the members were not sufficiently instructed or interested to be able to manage them for themselves. The borrowers did not regard themselves as in any way concerned in the success of the society. As was remarked in the last United Provinces report : "When the Act was passed and the condition of these societies came under review, my predecessor was struck with the lack of interest taken by members in the affairs of their society, and in that view introduced a system by which all the members agreed to deposit a small sum at harvest according to their means or the amount of their loans. This had to some extent the desired effect. The members can afford to deposit, for the amount is always less than they save in interest, while their willingness to do so shows that they now appreciate the benefits they receive from the bank. But the system is not wholly satisfactory, because a man can withdraw his total deposits, while still remaining a member, and so lose his interest in the society, while in addition the record of large numbers of petty deposits and the calculation of interest on them and payment of the same, or its addition to the capital, adds much to the account work."

It seemed that the advantages of this system could be secured, and additional advantages gained by the introduction of shares payable by instalments on the system in force in the Punjab, and most of the societies recently formed have been organized on these lines. The members are tenants having no proprietary right in the soil, and

their holdings are generally small. The value of a share must therefore be considerably lower than in the Punjab, and has usually been fixed at Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 per plough, to be paid up by twenty half-yearly instalments of As. 8 or Rs. 1. Each member takes one share, and any person having two or more ploughs takes two or more shares. No interest is payable on these instalments towards shares, but after ten years, when the shares are fully paid up, a dividend (limited to 10 per cent.) will be distributed if profits admit. In the new societies loans are advanced to the members at such a rate as may enable the societies themselves to pay a rate sufficient to attract capital which is supplied in some districts by central banks, and in other districts by private investors through the registrar.

#### BURMA.

"In Burma," we read from the registrar's latest report, "the first twenty-two societies were of the Schultze type with unlimited liability. The bye-laws permitted dividends after the building up of a reserve, members were taken from a wide area, and the membership included a large percentage of non-agriculturists. Each of the above factors tended, however, in practice to engender dissension and non-co-operative aims. The prospect of dividends in itself, in a country where mushroom fortunes are common, obscured the real objects of the society and of the Act under which it was registered. And this evil was aggravated by the failure in many cases to realize that the heavy initial profits made were largely due to the loans made by Government free of interest for three years.

The inclusion of members from a number of villages miles distant from each other tended to make the society rather a society of villages than of individuals. The bulk of the members took no interest in the society's affairs, and, provided they got loans, attended no meetings, and understood nothing of co-operation.

The most serious objection, however, to the Schultze type

as here applied was that, with the prospect of profits, it attracted traders into cultivators' societies. The trader thrives by beating down the cultivator, and by making loans to be repaid in kind at reaping or at onerous money rates of interest; and accordingly he wished to run the society to suit himself, or to have no society at all." In consequence of these objections the societies did not thrive, and the registrar, in October, 1906, introduced a new type of society framed on Raiffeisen lines. The operations of each were restricted to one or, at most, two villages, and the number of members did not usually exceed thirty. Funds were found in the following manner:

"An advertisement in the principal papers, and a pamphlet explaining the elements of credit co-operation and the efforts of the agents, Messrs. Broadbent and Swinhoe, produced many applications to deposit, and the sums offered by individuals amounted to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, against requirements of Rs. 30,000." Great care was also taken in selecting sites for new societies, regard being had to the following points:

1. Genuine necessity for working on credit.
2. The existence of high rates of interest.
3. A high proportion of *bona fide* peasant proprietors (tenants having little, but "honesty" capital), and the existence of landlords introducing a disturbing element.
4. That the bulk of the loans made should be loans for current cultivation expenses, and not large loans tending to be for non-agricultural purposes.
5. That some one member, at least, should be able to keep accounts.
6. That the place should be an agricultural village on a line of communication, if possible, and so within the public view.
7. That it should be reasonably accessible to the registrar.
8. That the dominant crop should not be precarious, and, in the dry districts, that there should be, if possible, a variety of crops.

Subsequent progress has been on the above lines, and it is satisfactory to note that the amount invested in the societies by private depositors now amounts to over a lakh of rupees.

#### OTHER PROVINCES.

In Eastern Bengal and Assam the societies are of the Raiffeisen type. They depend more largely than those of any other province on Government support, and partly, no doubt, owing to the political situation, have not as yet succeeded in creating public confidence. The Central Provinces have peculiar difficulties of their own in the character of their cultivation. Where whole tracts grow but one crop in the year, which occupies the ground for only six months, it is difficult to keep capital fully employed. This province has also been handicapped by not having had a full time registrar, and the movement is still in the experimental stage.

#### ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE.

Thus it will be seen that there are considerable differences in the systems in force in the various provinces of Northern India. Each registrar has attempted to develop the type of society best suited to the particular circumstances of his province. I think we may say that these types have now, in the larger provinces, been definitely fixed, and that, as far as the combination of individuals is concerned, experiments are at an end. It has been proved that, if the necessary organization and control is available, societies can be formed and successfully worked in almost any rural village, and a demand for their formation is arising among the people themselves. The great problem which must be faced and solved is that of a controlling and financing agency. This is especially necessary in Bengal and the United Provinces. Raiffeisen societies are small societies for small men; they cannot stand alone. For a long time to come they will need constant supervision and advice, and it is obvious that as their number grows it will be

impossible for one registrar with his small staff to watch over and control them all. Attention was early directed to this question of control in the United Provinces, and it is there that most has been done to solve the problem. The method has been the foundation of central banks at the headquarters of districts, whose functions are both to finance rural societies and to supervise them. The latest type of central bank is that which has been recently founded in Budaun, and was generally approved by the conference of Registrars which sat in Simla last year.

The Badaun District Bank is constituted as follows : It is a Joint Stock Bank, registered however under the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, of which the ordinary shares are held by the small societies scattered about the district. The capital required is raised by the issue of preference shares carrying 8 per cent., and of debentures. Deposits are also accepted. The bank is situated at the headquarters of the district, and is administered by a paid manager under the control of a Board of Directors, of which the collector is chairman. It makes loans to the rural societies at the rate of 12 per cent., generally for the purpose of financing a specific crop, in which case the money is repayable at harvest-time. If the loan be for cattle or for agricultural improvements, the effect of which is spread over several harvests, recovery will be made accordingly, and loans for repayment of old moneylenders' debts come under the same conditions. The societies can afford to pay the bank this 12 per cent. rate of interest as they receive from 15 per cent. to 18 per cent. from their members, and it is essential that the bank should make a considerable profit on its loans in order both to build up its reserve, so improving its credit, and to be able to provide for efficient control of the rural societies by its own officers. The bank also takes all the risk of money lying idle in the slack season. It only remains for such a bank to get into touch with the money market to ensure it a highly prosperous career. A beginning has already been made with a

temporary loan kindly offered by the Alliance Bank of Simla and the Unaо Town Bank, which finances the rural societies of the Unaо district, though constituted on somewhat different lines, last year succeeded in negotiating a loan of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs with the Allahabad Bank. A district bank has also been founded at Jullunder, in the Punjab, to finance the rural societies of that district. In Bengal it is proposed to proceed on somewhat different lines. Mr. Gourlay writes in his report for 1907-08 : "An adaptation of the German system has been devised, by which societies will be combined in local unions for purposes of finance and control. The union will have a share basis, and the credit of an affiliated society will be determined by its shares and solvency. A double security is thus offered to the money market, and it is hoped that local capital will be attracted." The difficulty will, no doubt, be to provide for the efficient management of an institution of this kind, but as Bengal has hitherto been more successful in securing the services of honorary organizers than other provinces, it may be that this difficulty will be overcome.

#### ILLITERACY.

There are other minor problems of which I should like to speak. One, for instance, which particularly affects us in the United Provinces is the illiteracy of the cultivating classes. It is now recognized as essential to the success of Raiffeisen societies that they should work in a strictly limited area, and this generally means one village. But there are many villages of good and substantial agriculturists where it is impossible to find even one person with sufficient education to keep the simple account books which are required, and to carry on ordinary correspondence. Are such villages to be debarred from forming a society, though the members very well understand the essential principles of co-operation, or if not, what arrangements are to be made for keeping accounts? An attempt is being made to solve the question in Budaun by the appointment of clerks

for a group of eight or ten village societies to be paid rateably by the societies concerned. Their duties are to visit the villages on specified days, to write up the accounts, assist the panchayat of each society in issuing and collecting loans, and to conduct correspondence with the district bank. They have no say in the distribution of money, and are under the control of the manager of the district bank. It will be interesting to see whether the experiment turns out successful. So far it is decidedly promising.

#### GOVERNMENT AID.

I should also like to say a few words on Government assistance, for Government, as I shall show later on, supplies nearly one-fifth of the total capital now in the movement. Government loans to agriculture for special purposes are in accordance with the custom of the country. Raiffeisen societies cannot supply their own capital. They must borrow it from some outside source. But the private depositor at first knows but little about the societies. He makes his loan, trusting that the registrar will see that the management of the society is efficient, and his money therefore safe. Under these circumstances I can see no objection to Government taking the lead by lending to the societies at a fair business rate (in India at least  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.), and so inspiring confidence in others. On the other hand loans at low rates do actual harm by rendering the societies unwilling to pay the fair market rate required for raising further capital, and even such financial assistance as I recommend should be of a strictly temporary nature. If the societies are properly worked they will soon be able to attract their own capital. If they are not properly worked they should not receive further assistance.

#### CONCLUSION.

I have now explained to the best of my ability the lines on which development is proceeding. It is essential not to be too impatient of results. The foundation, if the

structure is to be permanent, must be well and truly laid. The objects before us are two : First, to perfect the existing societies so that the members themselves may first recognize the advantages they derive from them, and then the residents of neighbouring villages, seeing those advantages, may wish for societies of their own ; second, when by this means a demand for the formation of societies exists in any locality to meet that demand by supplying an organization for controlling the societies when constituted, and supplying them with funds. Many of the societies actually working were founded in the experimental stage, and are not wholly satisfactory ; but the great majority are now real co-operative institutions, and the figures which I shall now give of the actual results obtained for the whole of India can be safely regarded as a fair indication of the progress being made. On June 30, 1908, there were 1,201 rural societies, as compared with 740 in the previous year. Members had increased from 54,500 to 93,200, and working capital from Rs. 10,720,000 to Rs. 21,660,000. Of this sum about one-fourth, chiefly, however, in the United Provinces and Madras, was supplied by central or urban banks registered under the Act. The remaining three-fourths was furnished in almost equal proportions from the following sources \* :

	Rs.
Shares of members, chiefly in the Punjab	... 3,54,000
Deposits of members, chiefly in the Punjab, Bombay, and United Provinces	... 3,81,000
Deposits of non-members, chiefly in Bengal, United Provinces, and Burma	... 3,49,000
Government, chiefly in the Punjab, Eastern Bengal and Assam, United Provinces, and Bombay	... 4,04,000

These societies had set apart a reserve fund of Rs. 46,000, and had made further profits up to date of Rs. 1,30,000, excluding the amount which a few societies had distributed

\* In the figures quoted the few societies with limited liability, and also the grain societies, are omitted.

in dividend. In Ireland, where various forms of co-operation have been actively propagated by a small but devoted band of men for more than ten years past, there are as yet only 261 societies, with a capital of £50,000. So we have very good reason to be content with our rate of progress. It is true, of course, that little impression has as yet been made on the enormous burden of agricultural indebtedness in India, but I hope that I have said enough to show that a very sensible advance has been already made, and that when once the problem of organization and control has been fully solved, we may expect a still faster rate of development in the near future, with far-reaching results both in the economic improvement of the country and in the elevation of the national character.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT LORD MORLEY'S REFORMS; OR, IS INDIA MISGOVERNED?

BY A CONSERVATIVE INDIAN.

LORD MORLEY's reforms have been conceived boldly and generously, and in a spirit which redounds to the credit of the freedom-loving instincts of British statesmanship. Great Britain has done its part nobly and consistently with her great traditions in thus inaugurating constitutional changes of a far-reaching character in the machinery of the government of India. The Indian Councils Reform Bill is destined to mark an epoch in the political history of India, and it must therefore be the concern of every well-wisher of India and England to see how to give effect to these great changes, and in what spirit they should be received.

As Lord Morley very correctly said, the Reform Bill is "no concession to violence." On the other hand, Lord Morley has pushed on his constitutional reforms in spite of the anarchist and the seditious, thus showing that the true British instinct is sufficiently broad and liberal to ignore as negligible those who wish to put an end to British rule in India, and preach sedition in various forms and shapes and go the length of adopting anarchist plots and methods as a part of their work.

There are two ways of looking at the reforms. One is, to look upon them as having been wrung out of an unwilling Government by means of bombs and sedition; and the other is to look upon them as the natural and legitimate outcome of those very principles which the British Government has not only laid down for its guidance in ruling India, but has been steadily giving effect to in its administration of the country according to the increasing fitness of the people for the measures inaugurated from time to time. Beginning from the year 1857, and looking

back upon half a century of British administration, all but the most perverse and misguided will readily admit that the people of India have not simply been *ruled* by Great Britain all along, but have been *raised* in every direction—so much so that the very cry for reforms and changes furnishes the most eloquent testimony that England's rule in India for the last fifty years has been a steady and mighty lever in uplifting the political ideas and aspirations of a people who were innocent of such ideas all through their past history. The present reforms, or, more correctly, constitutional changes, are not the result of any political cataclysm brought about by the seditionist and the bomb-thrower, but they may have been ushered in, by a liberal-minded Viceroy and a liberal-minded Secretary of State alike, to meet the growing requirements of the country.

This being the truth in the light of the history of British administration for the last half-century—about which no less a critic than Mr. R. C. Dutt said, in a speech he delivered at Tanjore, that “he saw progress in all directions under the British Government,” and who also gave them the wholesome advice that we Indians should set our houses in order and fit ourselves for the future we aspire to—it is necessary that ill-informed Englishmen or globe-trotting M.P.'s should not for the sake of sensation or notoriety, or in ignorance of the truth, startle the British public by gross and unfounded charges against the British Government in India. It should be remembered that the state of things in India is so very different from what obtains in England, that democratic or socialistic principles or ideas are not only out of place in Indian politics, but excite the laughter of those who know anything about Indian social conditions. Such charges have the unfortunate and undesirable effect of making the government of India more and more difficult to the best of Viceroys and Governors, besides poisoning the minds of Indian youths against the British people as a whole, and casting an unmerited slur on the British administration of India.

The truth is, there are two sides to the British government. One is the side of administrative efficiency pure and simple, as affecting the people at large ; and the other is that of meeting the growing political ambitions and aspirations of the people, as they become fitter day by day for a larger share in the administration of the country. So far as administrative efficiency goes, the most captious critic will admit that the changes the country has witnessed under British rule proclaim progress in every direction.

Regarding concessions of political rights and privileges to India on democratic lines, the problem is fraught with so much practical difficulty, and is so closely connected with the social and religious divisions into which India is divided, that it is only a student of Indian sociology in its innumerable ramifications and differences between class and class, race and race, and sect and sect, that can realize the difficulties and dangers of transplanting representative institutions successfully into Indian soil.

The Rev. Howard Campbell gave utterance to a great truth when he said : " If those who are ready to listen to the statements of political reformers who for the most part belong to the proudest and most exclusive classes of society were to study the speeches and writings of the social reformers, a little body of brave men who have been excommunicated and persecuted as a reward for their unselfish efforts on behalf of the poor and the weak, they would get a very different idea indeed of the present situation."

Even foreigners who have visited India from time to time, and with no very friendly eye to Great Britain, have been struck with the essentially beneficent and progressive tendencies of British rule in India, and have returned home with a blessing for the British rule. Here is what a Professor who is author of a highly interesting and instructive work, and who has spent about a quarter of a century in India, says in a letter to me :

" I am now living in a country [the Professor is writing from France] where these ideas of liberty, brotherhood,

and equality, may almost be called a national passion. Yet, with all the high qualities of the French and their wonderful intelligence, I find as little real liberty here as there is in Germany, where the Government is a tyranny. I rather look upon liberty as a thing unattainable by men. It is an ideal prize realizable only by a people which should have attained its highest potentialities, perfect self-respect, and moral greatness. It is the most difficult and momentous problem we have all to face. I do not think theories and formulas help us very much. The practical difficulty is, that in snatching at liberty you only escape from one bondage into another. But it will come of itself in so far as a people is fitted to receive it."

Democrats and socialists, if they mean what they say, will have first to demolish the religious and social distinction of the Indian caste system, and if they begin doing any such thing they will be hooted out. One can hardly under-rate the difficulty of sowing democratic ideas and principles amidst peoples of different races and creeds, and amidst the rocks of an unbending caste system which is an aristocracy based upon birth and ordained by God.

Lord Morley's reforms will therefore require the utmost energies of the Indians in the direction of their social reformation before they can bear good fruit.

## THE SIKH RELIGION : ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS, AND AUTHORS.\*

By H. R.

MR. MACAULIFFE's elaborate work on the Sikh religion in six volumes has at last been published by the Clarendon Press in wealth of paper, binding and brilliant illustration. The author states that he has practically devoted the whole of his time to the study since 1893, and that all that he has written has been supervised by competent Sikh scholars.

It appears that Mr. Macauliffe's original intention was to make a translation of the "Adi Granth," or original sacred book of the Sikhs, but the project did not commend itself to him as he prosecuted his labours. It was found that in that revered volume there were several repetitions. It was also suspected, though Mr. Macauliffe does not say so, that several hymns were of doubtful authenticity. Furthermore, the "Adi Granth" contains the compositions of various bards who admired the Gurus' labours, but whose panegyrics are deficient in genius and originality. It thus appears that on every account a complete translation of the "Adi Granth" would not be of universal interest, but would rather deter many conscientious readers. Moreover, Sikh experts often vainly wrangle over the interpretation of words and passages in their sacred writings, and it was deemed more important that the lives of their Gurus should also be written, and that the religious portions of the Granth of the tenth Guru and the writings and commentaries of holy Sikhs should be translated for a full comprehension of the Gurus' doctrines. The work now presented to the public professes to deal with all that is necessary and important in Sikhism.

\* "The Sikh Religion : its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors." By Max Arthur Macauliffe. Oxford : Clarendon Press, six volumes, 1909.

Many articles, pamphlets, and books have appeared from time to time on the Sikhs and their religion. The principal are Malcolm's "Sketch of the Sikhs," written a century ago, Captain Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs," published in 1848, and Dr. Trumpp's "Adi Granth" published in 1877.

The industry and enthusiasm of Malcolm and Cunningham deserve all recognition, but, as they could not peruse any of the Sikh writings in the original, and had to depend on Hindu interpreters, their writings, as far as they relate to the religion itself, are full of errors, and are now of no value. Dr. Trumpp could read the Granth Sahib in the original, but did not generally understand it and was unable to express himself in intelligible English. He had been employed by the India Office at the request of Sir Donald MacLeod, the greatest and most sympathetic of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governors. Dr. Trumpp received an official introduction to the Sikh priests at Amritsar, and they waited on him on his arrival there to begin his work. He told them that he was a Sanskrit scholar, that he understood their sacred writings better than they did themselves, and, by way of emphasizing his remarks, pulled out his cigar case and perfumed with it the "Adi Granth," which was lying on the table before him. Tobacco being an abomination to the Sikhs, the priests fled in consternation, and left Dr. Trumpp to plume himself on his display of learning and originality. The result was that he could obtain no assistance in his labours from any orthodox Sikh. He was obliged to depend on a half-educated member of the Sikh persuasion, described by orthodox Sikhs as a *lucha* or man of loose character, and he worked with him for about a year. He then took the holy book to Munich, where he drew his salary from the India Office, and produced with unassisted industry the work which he published in 1877, under the title of "The Adi Granth, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs."

To begin with, the title of his book is incorrect. Dr.

Trumpp must certainly have heard of the Granth of the tenth Guru, of Gur Das's Wars, of the Rahit Namas of Prahlad Rai, Nand Lal, and several other Sikhs, but he has not included them in his voluminous work. Added to this is the fact that, having been a Christian missionary, he eagerly availed himself of opportunities to vilify the Sikh religion, its Gurus and sacred book. This he principally effected with the aid of Hindu legends and incorrect translations of Persian works. Mr. Macauliffe states in his preface that one of his main objects was to endeavour to make some reparation to the Sikhs for the insults which Dr. Trumpp offered to their Gurus and their religion, reparation of every description having been previously refused by the Indian Government and the India Office. Ordinary persons may suppose that if the Indian Government itself or through its agent insulted any section of the Indian people, it would make the *amende* itself, but that is not how the Indian Administration is conducted.

We observe that in some instances Mr. Macauliffe has gone counter to Sikh traditions. This is notably the case in his account of the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh. The author follows a Muhammadan historian of the Dakhan rather than the traditional Sikh account, which represents the death of the great Guru to have been accomplished by a descendant of Painda Khan in revenge for the death of that enemy of Sikhism by the hand of Guru Har Gobind. It must be admitted, however, that there are inconsistencies in the traditional Sikh account, and that it reads as if the great Guru suggested his own murder and thus practically committed suicide.

In miscellaneous writings Europeans have endeavoured to show that Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, dissatisfied with the idolatry of Hindus and displeased with the hypocrisy of Hindu and Muhammadan priests, essayed to construct a religion out of Hinduism and Islam. Sukha Singh, author of the "Gur Bilas" a well-known Sikh work, represents Guru Gobind Singh as saying, "Out of two

religions I have made a third." There is much to be said in defence of the theory that, at any rate, the founder of Sikhism aimed at establishing a religion which would combine the best features of Hinduism and Islam; but Mr. Macauliffe has not touched upon it at all, probably because modern Sikhs are unwilling to admit any elements of Islam in their national faith. The Gurus and their followers were in many cases cruelly dealt with by the Moslems. The fifth Guru, Guru Arjan, the Sikh Pisistratus, who compiled the Granth Sahib, was put to death by torture in Lahore under the order of the Emperor Jehangir; the ninth Guru was executed in Delhi under the Emperor Aurangzeb; and the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, was hounded to destruction by the same bigoted Emperor.

A Sikh writer, in reply to a seditious letter despatched from London to the Panjab with the object of corrupting the Sikh soldiery, has written as follows regarding the treatment of his co-religionists by Muhammadan rulers : " In the time of Nadir Shah and Furrukh Ser, the Hindus acting as Moslem agents determined to remove every trace of the Sikhs, and received, as remuneration, twenty, thirty, forty, or at the most eighty rupees for any Sikh they made over to the Muhammadans. So successful were the Hindus in the merciless task they had undertaken, that they thrice reported to the Moslem ruler of Lahore that they had not left a single Sikh alive in the land. In every part of India the Sikhs were subjected to innumerable annoyances and persecutions, as if they were worse than the beasts which are enemies of man. They were pierced with bayonets ; their joints were cracked ; they were broken on the wheel ; and, after they were wrapped in cotton soaked in kerosine oil, burnt alive in the bazaars of Lahore."

On this account contemporary Sikhs, to whom Mr. Macauliffe has obviously been obliged to defer, disclaim all connection with Islam. There are, however, several matters to be considered in this connection. The first is that almost all the Gurus had very sincere Muhammadan

friends and partisans. The second is that Guru Nanak, by his wanderings in Makka and Baghdad, displayed an undoubted sympathy with Islam. The third is, that although he accepted the doctrine of Nirvana, his Japji, or great Morning Divine Service, contains mention of Sach Khand, a region of bliss, which appears to have been suggested by the Muhammadan paradise. The fourth is, that the oldest biography of Guru Nanak, which Mr. Macauliffe himself edited, contains a hymn beginning :

" His Holiness the Prophet made this pronouncement in the Quran,  
That dogs which watch at night are better than men who pray not ;"

and ending,

" On the day of judgment they who did good deeds shall have no anxiety ;  
Nanak, they shall be saved who have taken shelter in the Prophet."

This hymn is obviously in Guru Nanak's style, and if it is a fabrication, it must have been very ingeniously effected.

As to the connection of the Sikh religion with the Hinduism of the Vedas, this is explained in Mr. Macauliffe's introduction. He there gives a monotheistic hymn from the Vedas, which obviously is the basis of Guru Nanak's hymn on the Creation ; but the identity of Sikhism with modern Hinduism is not to be admitted for a moment.

The Sikh is a good soldier, a good husbandman and mechanic, simple and trustful when not corrupted by Occidental civilization, but he is not usually an astute man of the world. Amritsar, the headquarters of the Sikh religion, was founded by the Sikhs, and was originally their city ; but now the Hindus are its richest inhabitants, and dominate it with their intelligence and commercial enterprise. The Hindu chiefs have generally shown themselves wiser men and better administrators than the Sikh nobles. The sad instances of the chiefs of Patiala, Faridkot, and Chicharauli dying within short intervals of one another as the result of strong drink has not often been paralleled in India. As a result of the more regulated lives and better business

habits of the Hindus, the Sikhs seek marriage alliances among them. This leads to a softening of the lines of demarcation between the two religions, which is one of the causes of the decline of Sikhism.

Mr. Macauliffe has informed us that his work, which must have cost him several thousand pounds and sixteen years of continuous labour in India, has been recommended to the Indian Government by the Sikhs themselves, by foreign savants, and by great military authorities ; but he has not stated that the Indian Government and the India Office have taken no notice whatever of any recommendations made on his behalf, except that, as we read in the Indian newspapers, a sum of Rs. 5,000 has been offered him as compensation for all his labours in endeavouring to correct the errors of the Government, but which, it has transpired, he has no intention whatever of accepting.

When the British first gained a footing in India, the cardinal principle of their rule was generous toleration of indigenous religions. This did not please fanatical Christians in England. They contended that it was shameful for a highly moral and Christian country like theirs to tolerate what they were pleased to call the heathen religions of India ; and the result was that a resolution was carried in the House of Commons about a century ago, granting legal facilities to persons desirous of remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing religious and moral improvement. After the resolution was passed, Christian missionaries streamed into India from all quarters, and it began to be made a dumping-ground for their variegated tenets and conceptions of Christ's teaching. With few exceptions, all men who had had acquaintance with India opposed the resolution, but without success, and then a policy of what was called "religious neutrality" was forced on the Indian Government. By religious neutrality was really meant the countenance of, if not open assistance to, Christian missionaries, and total contempt for the religions of the people. This policy was, and is still, carried on by the Indian

Government, though there are not now in this more advanced age any fanatics in England who make it their serious business to enforce it.

When Sir James Lyall established the Khalsa College in Amritsar, and when Sir Charles Rivaz a few years ago collected twenty-three lakhs of rupees for its maintenance, there were no denunciations of their conduct made in the British Houses of Parliament, nor did the Christian missionaries in a body storm Government House at Lahore to contend that their special prerogatives had been encroached upon. Religious neutrality is now merely an expression which clings to the walls of Indian secretariats like the bacteria of infectious diseases. When an Indian secretary tells his chief that such-and-such an application must be refused, because granting it would be a breach of religious neutrality, the chief accepts the suggestion. It has a ring of statesmanship about it, and the hard-worked secretary saves himself the trouble of avoidable labour by the ingenious sophistry lurking in the expression. Or, to make a more favourable view of the case, the Anglo-Indian officials rarely know anything of Indian religions, and are not expected or required to know. There is no Oriental school in England, as there is in other European countries, in which officials proceeding to India can be instructed in the great religions of that country and in the literatures which appertain to them, and hence the general contempt on the part of British officials for the Indian theological systems, which is now bearing its bitter fruit. When the missionary policy was adopted, it was believed that if the British abstained from all support of the Indian religions the Indians would in a body embrace Christianity. This belief was based on complete ignorance of Hinduism and Islam; it has not been justified by results; and the policy of so-called religious neutrality has landed India in atheism and nihilism, the dismal consequences of which must be further anarchism and bloodshed.

The main points of difference between the Hindu and  
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Sikh religions are as follows : The Hindus worship idols and believe in incarnations of the Godhead, while the Sikhs reprobate all idolatry and believe not in Rama or Krishna or any other Hindu incarnation. The three upper classes of the Hindus wear sacrificial threads and shave their heads. The Sikh teachers laugh at the idea of there being any peculiar sanctity in a cotton thread, and it is a religious duty of all Sikhs, particularly those who follow the tenth Guru, to let their hair grow, and be, as it is called in India, *sabit surat* or with bodies untouched with any cutting instruments. The Sikhs maintain that the great prophets of old kept their bodies whole. They refer to the oldest representations of Moses, Abraham, Socrates, and Christ, and assert that a man should not deprive himself of such a precious natural boon as his hair. The Hindus very generally smoke tobacco, and, when they eat flesh at all, they eat what has been killed by Muhammadans. Sikhs, on the other hand, most religiously abstain from tobacco, which is called by the tenth Guru and his followers the "world's filth." The Sikhs only eat the flesh of animals whose necks have been severed from their bodies with a single blow by the hands of a Sikh.

Baba Nanak has left some memorable hymns defending the use of flesh meat. The permission to partake of it, and the prohibition of tobacco, which is now known in Europe to stunt the growth of the male population, have undoubtedly tended to make the Sikhs the stalwart and brave men that they are—the heroes of many a well-fought field. The Hindus may only eat with men of their own caste, while the Sikhs may, so far as their sacred books are concerned, eat with persons of all denominations. The Hindus may only eat in a fixed place which they have sanctified with prayer and the smearing of cow-dung, while the Sikhs can eat wherever and with whatever company they happen to be.

The Hindus worship the cow, while no special sanctity is attributed to her in the Sikh sacred writings. The Hindus

fast and visit places of pilgrimage ; both these practices are reprobated in the Sikh sacred writings. The Hindus believe that Brahmans sprang from the head of the Creator, and reverence them accordingly, and, as a corollary to this, regard the Brahmanical books and teachings as the highest emanations of Divine wisdom. The Sikhs, who understand their religion, put no faith in the Brahmans, their sacred books or their ministrations. The Hindus believe that families are rendered impure by births and deaths among them, and they pay Brahmans liberally for the performance of purificatory rites. The Sikhs ridicule the idea of uncleanness being produced by the operation of natural causes. The Hindus cannot receive into their religion one not born within the pale of Hinduism, while the Sikhs, according to the original design of Baba Nanak, and even according to the practice of the tenth Guru, may receive men of all castes into their fold. There are, of course, great differences of dress, and totally different prayers or Divine services for the members of both religions.

The followers of the tenth Guru of the Sikhs wind their long hair round a piece of steel and bind it with a comb. They wear a steel bracelet and drawers of a particular fashion. These observances distinguish them externally from the Hindus. The Hindus have auspicious and inauspicious times for marriage. At their celebrations they read an account of Shri Krishna's abduction of Rukhmani, the betrothed of Sripal. Many other points of difference will occur to observant readers who have lived in India.

In his preface Mr. Macauliffe has enumerated some but not all the advantages of the Sikh religion to the State. These can only be obtained by an intelligent perusal of the whole of his work, and probably that was his deliberate intention. If he had given all the political advantages of the Sikh religion in his preface, many readers would perhaps have thought it unnecessary to read the whole of his work, and would thus fail to become acquainted with the exalted literature and ethical instructions of the Gurus.

Many of the early Christians assimilated their tenets and ceremonials to those of the Jews, from whom they had sprung. This is a human tendency which is not difficult to understand. The same phenomenon is observable among the Sikhs, for since the demise of their Gurus they have had no trustworthy or capable religious guides. Our author appears to apprehend that the Sikh religion must ultimately die out if it receives no Government support. There is very little probability that any such support will be vouchsafed. The high officials of the Indian Government know nothing of Sikh literature, and they are, moreover, too much obsessed with the bugbear of "religious neutrality" to make any movement for the support of Sikhism. The Indian officials would probably only give themselves the trouble of initiating such a movement if ordered to do so by the English people, supported by British and foreign savants. There is no hope that English people will ever issue such an order. They are too busy with their parochial affairs, and, as has often been remarked, interest themselves more in a murder or a football match than in the affairs of the Indian Empire. And, as to the support or suggestions of savants, the Indian Government and the India Office can snap their fingers at them as they have repeatedly done before.

If there be ever a movement to support the Sikh religion, one of the first measures might be to make Panjabi an alternative official language in the Panjab, as recommended in the work under review. Though Panjabi is the mother-tongue of all natives of the Panjab, the Muhammadans oppose the official use of it through their hatred of the Sikhs, but the Muhammadans have no *locus standi* in such a controversy. It ought not to concern them at all. Sir Louis Dane, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, is an intelligent man, and has the interests of the Sikhs at heart, but, if he wishes to merit their approbation in this respect, he must disregard the formal and superficial opposition of the Muhammadans. Writing Urdu, even in

the very simplest language, would never be sufficient. The Sikhs must have an official language written in their own religious characters, which would then form a stepping-stone to the perusal of their sacred writings. Many Hindus in the Panjab are also acquainted with the Gurumukhi symbols, and have often felt and expressed their delight in perusing the hymns of the holy Gurus, which they liken to gems and pearls.

In the Hindu Puranas it is stated that Vishnu in the Avatar of Buddha withdrew religion from the demons of Hindu lore when he plotted their destruction. Some of the political officers who extended the frontiers of the Indian Empire might have been capable of Vishnu's diplomacy, but we cannot believe that the civil Government, in bringing up young Indian chiefs without religion, has acted with the same sinister intention. It has been done, we think, in furtherance of the policy of "religious neutrality," and not with the object of degrading and depriving young chiefs of their independence. In the case of young Sikh wards of the Government in particular, we believe the failure of the Government to give them religious and moral education is largely due to ignorance of their sacred books and of their utility to the State. The result has, however, been the same. Most of the Sikh principalities are now deprived of their political independence on account of the sins of omission or commission, real or alleged, of their chiefs, caused through defective religious and moral education.

There are now only four Sikh States in the Panjab—namely, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, and Faridkot. These are ordinarily governed by councils of three—one Sikh, one Muhammadan, and one Hindu. The apparent object of this system of administration has been to secure impartiality. The inhabitants of the States being Sikhs, Muhammadans, and Hindus, it was thought that the Sikhs might profitably address themselves to the Sikh member, the Muhammadans to the Muhammadan member, and the Hindus to the Hindu member. This looked well as a scientific or mechanical arrangement,

but in practice it has had very serious defects. The Sikh member has been generally half a Hindu and not well educated. The Muhammadan and Hindu members have been better educated, bitterly opposed to Sikhism and its followers, and always able to combine against and outvote the Sikh member on all important questions. Nor could the Muhammadan and Hindu members agree between themselves as to the treatment of the State subjects of their respective faiths. The Hindu member being a man of figures and arithmetic was able to control the finances; and to him, too, was generally entrusted the management of the State funds for benefactions and charitable purposes, when the Brahmans and other members of his faith were filled to repletion, and the interests of Sikhs despised and neglected. Administrations thus composed have led to divided councils, and practically no State religion has been maintained. Sikhism has thus been largely forgotten, and in some instances completely obliterated.

Faridkot has been, until recently, practically governed by a Bangali Babu, and its late Raja was, until his premature death, surrounded by Hindus who were hostile to his faith. In the remaining Sikh States Muhammadan and Brahmanical influence has been too potent and aggressive against the simplicity and humility of Sikhism.

The obvious remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of things is to appoint, for the future, Sikh officials of integrity and ability to high offices in all the Sikh States. If the Muhammadan and Hindu inhabitants have not the same comfortable privileges as before, they will only share the fate of religious minorities in all other countries. Our own country is not governed by a council consisting of a High Churchman, a Roman Catholic Irish Nationalist, and a Houndsditch Jew. What a happy family such a combination would be! Had our country possessed such an administration it is obvious that no State religion could be maintained.

A college for the education of Punjab chiefs and nobles

was sometime since established in Lahore. It is now well understood by intelligent Sikhs that it is unfitted for the education of chiefs and nobles of their faith. Peculiarities of dress and Divine service were ordained for Sikhs by their Gurus, and Sikhs at the Chiefs' College would require great moral fibre to resist the bantering or derision of their schoolmates or avoid contracting a freedom of thought which would be fatal to their orthodoxy. Better would it be that young Sikhs were educated at the Khalsa College in Amritsar, if that institution could be placed under proper management, and members of its council who were either corrupt or indifferent to their faith and the glorious traditions of their race, removed with a strong hand.

There is much that the Sikhs themselves could do for their religious amelioration. They could, for instance, have their Granth Sahib printed or written in separate lines and separate words, as all poetry is now printed or written in Europe. This would render the great thoughts of their Gurus more easy of perusal.

The daily Divine services of the Sikhs are elaborate and require leisure for their performance. In the morning they repeat the *Japji* of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, the *Hazara de Shabd* both of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, the *Asa ki War* of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, the *Jāpji* of Guru Gobind Singh and the *Sukhmani* of Guru Arjan. The last three are rather lengthy and their repetition is optional for secular Sikhs. In the evening earnest Sikhs repeat the *Rahiras*, and when the lamps are lit the *Arati* which comprises hymns of Guru Nanak and some hymns of the Bhagats. At bed-time the Sikhs repeat the *Sohila*.

An effort may perhaps be some day made by Sikh priests to contrive prayers or less lengthy compositions for morning and evening services. Several Sikhs object to the length of the present ones and shrink from their profuseness, and even when they repeat the obligatory texts do so mechanically.

Let the Sikhs reject the ministrations of Brahmans at their marriages and have them celebrated by the ceremony of Anand, solemnly inaugurated by their third Guru. Several decisions of the Panjab Chief Court show that ordinary marriages among Sikhs have in every instance been treated as binding.

If some of the political grievances which we have alluded to in this review were taken up by the Indian National Congress their propaganda would receive more sympathy and attention from intelligent and well-meaning Englishmen than they do now.

We are sorry if we should be deemed too pessimistic as to the future of the Sikh religion. Our remarks are the result of careful consideration of the subject, and, indeed, all writers have given expression to vaticinations similar to ours. We believe that it is God alone who can protect that great religion.

Other circumstances might have occurred which would have made the Sikh religion one of the foremost cults of the world ; but it is now too late for repentance, nor have any Sikhs until quite recently regretted being subject to the great country which rules with undisputed sway the Empire of India. But let us in return condescend to do some justice to those great men, the Sikh Gurus, martyrs, and saints, who, undeterred by persecution, devoted their lives to the uprooting of hypocrisy and bigotry, who evolved the highest and purest ethical system from the corrupt morals of their epochs, who foreshadowed the advent of a people from beyond the sea to aid them in dethroning the tyranny of race, and to reign long in harmony and alliance with them. And let us devoutly hope that all their proud prophecies in favour of the British may receive due fulfilment.

The foremost Oriental scholars of the world have expressed their sympathy with the Sikh religion, but they can naturally take only an academic interest in it; but to the Indian Government it not only presents an academic

interest—which perhaps no intelligent Government may altogether despise—but also a deep political interest; for in its civil aspect the Sikh religion connotes deep, unquestioning loyalty, and in its military aspect the highest heroism and self-sacrifice.

The Sikhs now number well over two million souls in the Panjab alone. The British have some thirty thousand of them in our army, for the most part strategically disposed, so as to temper or leaven the loyalty of other races. The Sikhs thus combine to form cohorts of much greater strength and importance than their numerical value would seem to indicate. It does not appear rational, much less politic, to allow them to lose their distinctive character, to revert to gross superstition and social deterioration, and to divest themselves of those feelings of loyalty which, in peace as well as in war, have made them the mainstay and pride of the British Government in India.

Time was when the Sikhs were most enthusiastic for the completion and success of Mr. Macauliffe's work, but the modern, rapidly increasing anti-English spirit has wrought many changes. The Hinduizing Sikhs of Amritsar, regretful that they have not accomplished the work now submitted to the public, and vainly hoping that they can do better themselves, will no doubt indulge in hostile criticism; but when all the faults of Mr. Macauliffe's work have been exposed to the fullest view that hostile searchlights can throw on them, it is believed that, even when India is lost to the British Crown through the mistaken religious and educational policies of its rulers, and through the vindictive, malevolent or disloyal interference of certain members of the British House of Commons, the Sikhs, who still desire to preserve their national faith, can find no fuller or more impartial exposition of it than is contained in the present volumes.

THE STONE-SCULPTURED TEXTS AND THE  
MANUSCRIPTS OF OLD PERSIA : THEIR  
HARMONY AND AUTHORITY.

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

DARIUS wrote, or commanded his sculptors for Persepolis as follows (see for this Inscription, Spiegel, p. 47, Weissbach and Bang, p. 34, from whom, however, my versions differ somewhat) :

The great *Auramazda*, who is the greatest\* of the gods,† has made Darius King.—He has delivered the kingdom over to him—through the gracious—will of *Auramazda* is Darius King. (Thus) saith Darius the King : “ This land of Persia—which *Auramazda* delivered to me, which is prosperous,‡ rich in horses, well-populated,§ through the grace of *Auramazda* and through mine,|| Darius the King’s—fears no other (or ‘no foe’)—may *Auramazda* grant me aid together with the clan-gods ;—may *Auramazda* protect this region from hostile hosts—from disastrous years,¶ from the plotting lie (political intrigue). May no (hostile) host approach this region—no disastrous years (of drought, famine, or pestilential blight)—no lie [that is to say, ‘no sinister political agitation’] ;—and this favour\*\* I beseech of *Auramazda*—with the clan-gods.††

\* There can be but one “greatest.”

† These gods were inferior, like our archangels.

‡ Hardly merely “good” or “beautiful.”

§ Very Vedic and very Avestic expressions.

|| Notice this naïve expression. *Vashnā* cannot mean here “through the will of me, King Darius.” Darius had no intention of implying that he had exercised anything like a Sovereign decreeing “will” in this instance. He means “active beneficent will.” Perhaps “gracious will” is better than “grace.” The bare word “will” is not here adequate.

¶ Bad seasons as to drought, pestilence, etc.

\*\* *Yānam* in this sense is also a purely Avestic expression as well as Inscriptional; the Vedic *yāna* has an entirely different application.

†† He would neither insult the various dissenting religions of his empire, nor would he neglect the minor subdeities of his own. Again let us recall there can be *but one* “greatest.”

(Thus) saith Darius the King: I am Darius, the great King, the King of kings, the King of these numerous provinces,\* the son of Vishtāspa† the Achæmenid.

(Thus) saith Darius the King: Through the gracious will of *Auramazda* these lands, which I with intimidation dominated‡ with this Persian host, feared before me; [that is, they were politically intimidated]—and they paid me tribute [as showing my success in their submission].

Darius wrote for *Bahistūn* (Cp. for texts, King and Thompson, pp. 70, 71, and W. and B., p. 28): “What I have done, I have done in every particular through the gracious will of *Auramazda* and (all) other gods who exist.”§

Therefore *Auramazda* brought me aid, with (all) the other gods who exist, because I was not hostile to him, or to the lands—because I was no false political intriguer (lit., “no liar”)—no despot—neither I nor my family; I ruled according to the rectitude|| (of the law)—I favoured those who assisted my clans—(in just return),—and those who were hostile I without any fail visited with meet punishment.—Thus saith Darius the King: Thou who hereafter shalt be King—with a man who is a (political) intriguer—(a revolutionizer, lit., a liar)—or a positive rebel (?)—make no political compact (lit., “be no friend of his”)—punish him with good punishment (if thou thus thinkest “my land shall go unscathed”).¶

(Thus) saith Darius the King: Thou who hereafter

\* Notice that the word *dahyāum* and *dahyunām* are used in a “good” sense here in the Inscription as in Avesta, whereas in Vedic *dāsyu* has an “evil” sense—border bitterness.

† Hardly the *Vishtāspa* of the Gāthas. This person was, however, one of the *Satraps* (*Khshatrapāvan*) of his son’s empire, and indeed in Parthia, eastward and northerly toward Bactria.

‡ A very Avestic expression.

§ *Ārshtām*: so K. and T. for the formerly supposed *ābishtām*. Notice the *r* of *arsh*, confirming my suggestion as to an *arsha* rather than *asha*.

|| *Ahifrashtādiy* is no longer read. *Ufrashtādiy* is the word.

¶ From another place.

shalt view this writing\* which I have written—and these sculptured reliefs; destroy them not—so long as thou livest† (?) . . . preserve them. (Thus) saith Darius the King: “If thou viewest this writing and these sculptures, and dost not destroy them,—but preservest them for me,—so long as thy family shall last,—then may *Auramazda* be thy friend,—and may thy family be numerous. Live long; and what thou doest may *Auramazda* prosper.”‡

And for his own future tomb at *Naksh-i-Rustem* near *Persepolis* he wrote: “A great God is *Auramazda*, who made this earth and yon heaven,§—who made man—and amenity (civilization) for men,—who made Darius King—the alone king of many,—the alone commander of many.¶ I am Darius, the great King, the King of kings,¶ the King of the lands of all tribes, and the King of this great earth for afar,\*\* the son of Vitsāspa, the Achæmenid,—a Persian,—son of a Persian, Aryan, of Aryan race. Through the grace of *Auramazda* these are the lands which I captured beyond Persia . . . I conquered them . . . beyond Persia.—I brought them under my authority.—They brought me tribute.—What I said to them, that they did.—The law (which was promulgated by me), which was mine was maintained.—(Here follows a list of the provinces

\* The word *dipi* may go back to a root = “to besmear.” Notice that the writing of the original draft for the inscription upon the skins, or other material, was rather in the composer’s mind. He smeared, or “painted” it. One would have rather thought that he would have used some word more in consonance with “stone-cutting.”

† See *drāngam jivā* at XVI. 75, p. 38, Sp.

‡ Recall the “proclaimed rewards” of the pre-exilic Scriptures—“all for this life”; so also in the pre-exilic Semitic Scriptures.

§ “Yon heaven” is precisely Avestic; *ava* is only obscurely Vedic.

¶ His authority was actually realized as a dominant fact; recall Avestic *aēva*, not Vedic.

¶ “King of kings” must have been originally Aryan, and adopted from Persia by the Prophets. If Darius used it about 520 B.C., it must have been in vogue for some generations previously, and doubtless predated the Scriptural usages. In the Semitic Scriptures it rarely refers to a human potentate. The emphatic expressions are more Avestic than Vedic.

\*\* This “for afar” (*duraiapīy*) seems thrown in to modify the asserted claims to “universal” Sovereignty.

or sub-kingdoms.) . . . (Thus saith Darius : "As *Auramazda* viewed this earth . . . in war . . . (?) he delivered it over to me\*=he made me (its) king—I am King. Through the gracious will of *Auramazda* I have settled this earth through my throne (or through my government, or 'under my throne'; others render 'in place,' 'to rights'—but see the same word 'throne' just under). What I said that was fulfilled, as was my wish."† If thus thou thinkest : "How manifold are the lands which Darius the King governed,—then look upon this sculpture which bears my throne,—that thou mayest know.—Then shall it be known to thee that the lance of the Persian hero has reached afar;—then shalt thou know that the Persian hero has fought battles far from Persia. (Thus) saith Darius the King : "What I have done, I have done all through the gracious will of *Auramazda*.—*Auramazda* gave me aid till I had completed this work.—May *Auramazda* protect me, and my clan, and this province against . . . hosts (?). For this I pray *Auramazda*,—this may *Auramazda* afford me :—O man, may what is the command of *Auramazda* be to thee acceptable,—let that not be obsolete (or repulsive) to thee.—Leave not the right way :‡—Sin not."

Such are the voices from the stone—if we might be allowed so to express ourselves,—but besides these we have the book, preserved in its mysterious book-life from manuscript to manuscript, and from oral recital to recital;—generations of the priests who were its guardians followed one upon another and closely;—there was no break, nor

\* Recall the expressions attributed to Cyrus at Ezra i. : "All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord the God of Heaven (*Deva*) given me." The terms in Ezra seem to be stereotyped (see them also repeated from Chronicles), and arose from the same source as the expressions upon the Inscriptions. The "God of Heaven" was the Aryan *Deva* (Heaven-God), and shows that Cyrus had not yet accepted that inversion of the meaning of the holy word *Deva*, through which it had become in Media the name for "demon," and finally stood universally in that sense throughout Iran.

† Notice the repeated assertions as to the practical result of his administration; that is to say, as to its "success." They are by no means wasted words. *Gâthum* = "throne."

‡ Notice the very Gâthic expression "the right path."

was there need for dying men to recite these compositions to listening novices ;—the venerated words, for the most part fixed in metre, were imbedded in the race-life of the tribes ;—long before the old could die,—and while the young matured,—the middle-aged were there, the race-life of the priests was one abiding generation,—and in it the Avesta lived, lasting as the rock which itself yields slowly to the weather, immovable as the glaciers which stand while they advance. As time has worn the race, as the mountain streamlet has eaten off some letters, and as, alas ! the hammer of the vandal has in places added to the injury,—so time has worn the book ;—but it lives on in noble fragments, the Bible of a remnant, small indeed in numbers, but, in some respects, perhaps the first of Asia.—We know its contents, and the Inscriptions seem to cite them = “A great God is *Auramazda*, who made this Earth and yon Heaven—who made man and provided civilization (or “the amenities of life” for him ;—so, as we have seen, reads Behistūn,—with constant iteration, like the rest ;—and in Yasna I. we have : “I announce, and I will complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda the radiant and the glorious, the greatest and the best,—who sends us his joy-creating grace afar, who has made us, and has fashioned us,—who has nourished and protected us ;—who is the most bounteous\* Spirit, etc. The inscriptions have the words “*Vashna Auramazdāhā*” cut again and again upon their surface ;—they mean through the gracious will of *Auramazda*” (see above) ;—and in Yasna XXXI. 15, we read of victories even more momentous than those of the great Organizer ;—“By Thy Sovereign power and grace may’st thou make life really progressive—(till perfection shall have been gained) ;—and again, “Make every deed through grace progressive still,” etc., through many a similar analogy. Notwithstanding a difference in tone between the hewn-out sentences and the paper codex, we have in both the same *gracious* God and the same fervent faith in Him.

\* Others render “the most holy.”

## THE TIBETAN TRIPITAKA.

By X.

WHILE the Scriptures of "Southern" Buddhism, as it is called in the West, appear to have deviated little, if at all, from the form in which they first came into general use, the history of the "Northern" versions is one of constant accretions. Although, indeed, the Sanskrit text bore a marked resemblance to the Pali when originally brought forward at the Council of Jalandhar, it was considerably inflated, even at that time, by complements supporting the tenets of the Mahāyānist party. Adaptations of non-Buddhistic ideas were thenceforward gradually assimilated, until the doctrines of the "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna) comprised the purely Hindu systems of Yoga and Tāntra, an elaborate ritual, with litanies and prayers, and an eclectic pantheon, wherein deifications of Buddha and of his attributes were to be found side by side with such foreign elements as the sun-myth Amitabha.

In the middle of the seventh century, A.D., Tibet embraced the "Northern" creed. The books embodying it were turned into the language of the country, and to this end they were brought together, with scholars capable of reading them, from every part of the Mahāyānist world. The work was undertaken, in fact, in a systematic and practical way that might well serve as a model to certain modern translators. Chinese, Nepalese, and Kāshmīri texts, as well as Pali and Sanskrit, had to be dealt with, and the first step taken was to agree upon a uniform series of equivalents for the technical expressions and foreign proper names in the various originals. Max Müller, who is followed by Rhys Davids and others, vouches for the correctness of the Tibetan renderings, with which, however, commentaries were largely intermingled by the interpreters.

It is not surprising that all these additions should have

transformed the thirty-two volumes of the primitive "Three Baskets" into 100 volumes in the Tibetan Kangyur.

The latter are divided as follows:

1. *Hdulba (Discipline)*.—Here the directions as to education, etiquette, etc., are interspersed with Jātakas or birth-tales, so that the five books of the original Vinaya Piṭaka become thirteen.

2. *Ser. phyin (Transcendental Wisdom)*.—The abstract speculations of the sophistic nihilism, called Prajñā-pāramitā, the "Middle Path," are contained in twelve out of twenty-one volumes, the remainder being abridgments for those who cannot afford to purchase the full text.

3. *Phal. chen (the Association of Buddhas)*.—A description, in six volumes, of several Buddhas, the degree of their perfections, etc.

4. *Dkon. brtegs (the Jewel Peak)*.—An enumeration, in six volumes, of the qualities, etc., of Gautama Buddha.

5. *Mdo (Aphorisms)*.—This section consists of thirty volumes. It contains 270 treatises, on astrology, astronomy, cosmogony, moral and metaphysical doctrine, law, various arts, etc. Other features are, lives of holy personages, verses, and charms. The Dhammapada, the Mahāparinirvāna, and the Lalita Vistara, are among the well-known works included in this part.

6. *Mgan. hdes (Entire Deliverance from Pain)*.—The Mahāparinirvāna, or Great Decease, is here expanded into two volumes.

7. *Rgyud (the Tāntras)*.—Works on natural philosophy and other subjects, forms of prayer, etc., and treatises on the secret doctrines of mystical theology, called Tāntrism, form twenty-two volumes.

The 100 volumes of the Kangyur are supplemented by 225 of commentaries. The Tangyur, as this collection is called, not only comprises treatises on the matter contained in the canon, but dissertations on rhetoric and logic, on the various schools of Buddhist philosophy, and on Sanskrit grammar.

In 1731 the first Tibetan edition of the Kangyur, that of Narthang, was printed. The letters were carved on wooden blocks, and the inner bark of the *Daphne cannabina* furnished raw material for the paper. Later on presses for the sacred books were also set up at Der-ge, at Pekin, at Kumbum (for a Mongolian version), and at Punakha, in Bhotan. There is a copy of the Pekin Kangyur, called the "red edition," at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, and another at the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. Two copies of the Narthang edition are preserved at the India Office; another, recently brought to this country, has a curious history. Some months ago the Dalai Lāma went to Pekin on an official visit, the first since 1660, taking with him two presentation copies to be offered as a tribute at the Celestial Court. One of these was duly accepted by the late Empress Dowager; the other, owing apparently to some Palace intrigue, remained in the donor's possession, and he was induced to dispose of it otherwise. This is not as surprising as it might seem at first sight, since the code, which is very bulky, weighs nearly half a ton, and would have proved a serious burden on the long journey back from Pekin to the heart of Tibet. The result, at any rate has been the endowment of the West with a notably authentic and perfect copy, which must also, in every other respect, have been the best obtainable of its kind, as the Dalai Lāma would hardly have ventured to present anything less satisfactory at Court. The acquisition derives especial value from the fact that Tibet has once again become a land sealed to the foreigner, making it more difficult than ever for him to secure its treasures.

## THE KERNEL OF BUDDHISM.

BY REGINALD GEORGE CORBET.

ALTHOUGH a fleeting enthusiasm may, to a great extent, explain the command which many leaders have gained over their fellow-men, it is only to sterling gifts that a permanent impression upon vast masses can be attributed. The founder of a religion, for instance, could hardly have hoped to win the esteem of his hearers by means of teaching either absurd, or otherwise objectionable, according to contemporary standards.

There is therefore always strong reason to doubt any modern interpretation which attributes such teaching to him, and to believe that there must be some alternative sense more in keeping with the reputation of the speaker. The necessary corollary, so obvious that it scarcely requires to be stated, is that such a sense must be sought for by translators.

Instead of this, it often seems as though they had picked out a meaning at random from an assortment available in a lexicon, or as though the preference, if any, had been shown for the word which could most easily be tortured into making nonsense. Thus Europeans have for centuries either upheld or assailed the self-contradictory "six days" spoken of in their versions of Genesis, oblivious of the fact that the Hebrew word "yōm" also means, and is proved by the context to mean in this case, an indefinite period.

The Buddhist theory of the "skandhas" or "khandhas," the constituent elements of life, is another of many Eastern doctrines to which the same remark applies. A reasonable explanation, borne out both by primeval texts and by the highest Oriental authorities of our day, can be given of the terms used ; but this is not the one which has found favour in the West. The latter version, as recently summarized, makes the individual merely "a combination of faculties

and characters," bereft of all that is substantial ; and a comprehensible hypothesis has thus been turned into a tissue of absurdities.

Several circumstances aggravate the offence in the present instance. In the first place, Buddha had received the best education obtainable in his time, and his attainments comprised a thorough knowledge of metaphysics. Now, whilst a person ignorant of a science may confuse its terms, the adept cannot do so ; and it is, accordingly, inconceivable that Buddha, who knew that accidents must be inherent in a substance in order to possess any reality at all, should have attributed to them a separate existence, which, to a philosopher like himself, would have involved a contradiction in terms.

The impossibility is the greater in one who even went so far as to argue from that very distinction between substance and accident, usually associated by Occidentals with the "categories" of Aristotle—a fact which throws further light, by the way, upon the extraordinary likeness between them and the "padārthas" of Kanāda, by suggesting a common origin in earlier times. Dissatisfied, says Asvaghosha, with the teaching of Ārāda and Udraka, Buddha expounded his own, and he began by defining the distinction between the thing and its quality. These, he said, were not actually divisible, but were merely separable mentally ; heat, for instance, although different from fire "in idea," could not be removed from it.

It would appear from the context that, while the distinction itself cannot be attributed to him, but had already gained currency among the literate, he was the first thus to analyze it. And this alone amply shows that he had a thorough grasp of the subject.

However, even if he had been capable of taking quality for what is essential, he surely could not have done so without making himself the laughing-stock of those around him. It was not the untaught alone, indeed, with whom he came in contact ; he frequently had to measure swords

with subtle Brahmin dialecticians, who would have hastened to make the most of such an excellent opportunity of bringing their assailant into disrepute. For this reason his replies are adapted to two sets of inquiries. It was foreign to his purpose to elaborate the intellectual bases of his system ; he was chiefly concerned with the moral aspect, and he therefore confined himself to giving his disciples answers in keeping with their usually artless questions, at the same time taking occasion to discourage in them speculation as to the abstract and insisting that they should rather busy themselves with the acquisition of concrete virtue. His attitude towards them recalls the "malo sentire contritionem, quam scire ejus definitionem" of the "Imitation of Christ." In dealing with Brahmins, on the other hand, he was always careful so to answer as to afford them no opportunity of putting him in the wrong.

It is surprising to find these facts consistently ignored, and to see one modern writer after another, in spite of lexicographers, father upon Buddha an incongruous jumble of subjectless attributes, as unthinkable as a suit of clothes walking about without a wearer.

A "consciousness" is joined to the *perceptions, sensations, and predispositions* connected with a non-existing mind, and to the shape, *form*, or figure, of a non-existing body, the whole making up a man more ludicrous than the "featherless biped" of ancient Greece. Some Western authors prefer to endow the mindless with *discrimination, mental power, abstract ideas, or mental qualities*, and the bodiless with *outward form, material qualities, or material form*, ringing further changes in this invertebrate chimera with the aid of *confections, conformations, etc.*; but such words always denote accidents, acts, or forces, not a substance or any substantial element.

Was such really Buddha's teaching, or was it attributed to him by subsequent commentators or adversaries ? The question may perhaps best be solved by examining the original words used by him.

The favourite modern rendering of *viññānam* is "consciousness," to which, if used metonymically for the conscious subject—for that which, as Manu has it, "possesses the function of self-consciousness"—there could be no possible objection. But it is evident, from numerous passages in European works treating of Buddhism, that the faculty itself is meant. Now it is hardly necessary to point out that words abound in every language, including English, capable of being interpreted in different ways; and that this is true, even to a greater extent, of Oriental tongues. Thus, although *viññānam* may certainly be translated *thought*, *consciousness*, *knowledge* or *intelligence*, this does not prevent it from also being a synonym for *mano* and *cittam*, and, as such, meaning the mind, or, as Childers puts it, "the thinking part of the individual." Of this we are told that it originates, dominates, and constitutes—cf. Cicero's "Mens cujusque, is est quisque"—so much so that the existence of the complete entity is attributed to it (*viññānaprappaccayā nāmarūpam*) and ceases with its disappearance (*viññānassa nirodhena etth' etam uparujjhati*). It will be seen that it performs the function of the active essential principle, the *principium quo*, which Aristotle knew as *ἴδος* or *μορφή*, and Thomas of Aquin as "forma."

That this notion was not unfamiliar to the Eastern mind, by the way, is shown by the fact that Indians also expressed the *principium quo* by the word "dharma," of which Burnouf says: "Il faut entendre par dharma ce qui fait qu'une chose est ce qu'elle est, ce qui constitue sa nature propre," while Max Müller adds that "etymologically the Latin *for-ma* expresses the same general idea which was expressed by *dhar-ma*."

The *principium quod*, the corresponding passive principle, the *ὑλη* of Aristotle, and the *materia* of the Aquinate, is represented by "*rūpam*." This word, again, has a number of meanings, including *shape*, *form*, or *figure*, *image* and *representation*; but it stands, also, for the body, and is thus understood by De Alwis.

The union of the two essential elements,  $\epsilon\tilde{\delta}\sigma\varsigma$  and  $\tilde{v}\lambda\eta$ , necessarily brings about the existence of the compound; and, as the *viññānam*, or  $\epsilon\tilde{\delta}\sigma\varsigma$ , gives the united matter its specific name, the active factor is called *nāmam*—which means “form” and “essence,” however, as well as “name”—and the joint existence *nāmarūpam*. Of this substance not only its inherent powers and accidents can be predicated, but also all mental conceptions having a concrete correlative in the subject. And thus even “consciousness” or “abstract ideas” find a place, though not that invented for them by Western commentators. Such conceptions, indeed, differ completely from the five *skandhas*, or constituent elements, which are made up of the two substantial components,  $\epsilon\tilde{\delta}\sigma\varsigma$  (*viññānam*) and  $\tilde{v}\lambda\eta$  (*rūpam*), and the three integrant faculties, called by De Alwis, with Gogerley and Max Müller, sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), and thought (*saṅkhāra*). As in Western metaphysics, again, we find immaterial substances from which the passive element, *rūpam*, or  $\tilde{v}\lambda\eta$ , is absent.

This explanation of Buddha’s system seems so very obvious that the writer fails to understand why, so far as he is aware, it has never been put forward. Perhaps the reason is that atomism has ruled unchallenged in the schools during recent times, and that the idea of having recourse to anyone so obsolete as Aristotle never occurred to modern authorities. The atomism of the Buddhists themselves need not be taken into account in this connection, since it does not go back to primitive times.

The five “*skandhas*” have a natural affinity for each other, reminding one of that, for instance, which potassium and sodium have for oxygen. Hence, when the “form” ( $\epsilon\tilde{\delta}\sigma\varsigma$ ) is torn from “matter” ( $\tilde{v}\lambda\eta$ ) by death, this affinity makes it pass, like a flame from the wick of an expiring lamp to one freshly lit from it, into other “matter,” and combine with this to constitute a new being, completed by the accession of the three inherent “*skandhas*”—sensation, perception, and thought. The counterpart of this doctrine

in Western metaphysics is that "matter" and "form" in man, usually called "body" and "soul," abhor separation, and are endowed with an essential impulse to recombine. The new substance, according to Buddha, is the same, yet not the same; a perfectly comprehensible saying when it is considered that, whatever may remain of the parts—and it is difficult to gather how far they are transformed—the whole has been altered.

Hence there cannot be an "Ego" independent of, and surviving, the combination; the "Ego," like a chariot or any other object, is only entitled to its name when all its constituents are united, and a fresh union of parts does not carry on the identity of the compound. A medal, if melted and struck again, would be a different medal, even if its material and the rest of its components were the same as before. A certain connection with the past is preserved, however; the new being experiences the effects of its predecessor's acts, much as the short-weight or other characteristics of the first medal might be transmitted to the second.

Indeed, adopting from his Hindu predecessors the doctrine that a man shall reap as he sows (*Karma*), Buddha, like them, made the new fusion depend upon the actions that had gone before, and upon the resulting affinities or tendencies. These were as fuel, he taught, that attracted the flame; hence, by eliminating this oil of earthly desire, nothing was left to keep the flame alight. Its repeated passage from wick to wick must cease, and be succeeded by extinction. This doctrine may be further explained by means of the cognate "Chain of Causation," whose genesis, however, must first be considered.

It was only to be expected that Buddha, born and bred a Hindu, and breathing an atmosphere of Hinduism, should have been imbued with Hindu ideas; and we accordingly see him incorporating "*Karma*" and transmigration, with hardly any appreciable difference, into his system. He appears to be indebted to the same source for his view as to the origin of all perishable existence; for, while the

followers of the Veda ascribed it to the endowment of "illusion" (*Māyā*) with a subjective reality,\* he himself, taking the same notion of error as his starting-point, preferred to make it consist in ignorance (*Avijjā*) of his teaching. This alternative idea of ignorance as a means of creation, which even found its way into the *Mahābhārata*, was also one with which India was familiar; the variant was therefore easy for her to assimilate, and it appeared to her in an entirely different light from that in which Europeans would regard the proposition that ignorance is a productive cause. Yet this is exactly what Buddha says—nay, the plural (*saṅkhārā*), by which he designates the effect of ignorance, embraces every conceivable impermanent form of existence.

Like the *Mahābhārata*, which places mind (*viññānam*) immediately after the original element in the chain of existence, Buddha makes the mind spring forth next; then come, each in turn, the composite formed by mind and matter (*nāmarūpam*); the *senses* belonging to the body (*saṅkhyatanam*); their *contact* with eternal objects (*phasso*); the resulting *sensations* (*vedanā*); the *desires* awakened by the latter (*tanhā*); the *craving* (*upādānam*) consequent upon desire; the *continuation of existence* (*bhavo*) brought about by the hankering after its pleasures; the *rebirth* (*jāti*) entailed by the transient nature of the existence craved for, and the *decay and death* (*jarāmaranam*) necessarily consequent upon rebirth. On the other hand, the complete extirpation of ignorance, the first link in this chain, would cause all the others to pass away, and thus bring about the extinction of all imperfect existence, breaking up the "Wheel of Life," as the chain is also called. Buddha gives an alternative account of the process: suffering, which attends life from first to last, is due to the desire to live for

\* This dogma finds a parallel in the explanation, given by Western metaphysics, that time is a "moving now" (*nunc fluens*), a line each of whose points is only real when it coincides with the "motionless now" (*nunc stans*) eternity, which consists of a solitary indivisible instant.

the enjoyment of self. This desire is eliminated when truth, dispelling ignorance and conquering self, makes performance of duty, in each of its eight forms, the sole aim in life.

The state of emancipation, the much discussed "Nirvāṇa," is reached by several stages, which, according to individual dispositions, may be passed through within a lifetime or may occupy untold aeons. First the ascetic conquers passion, and thus obtains immunity from punishment (*sotāpatti*) ; next he is exempted from being reborn more than once (*sakadāgāmiphalam*) ; then from all liability whatsoever to rebirth (*anāgāmiphalam*), and at length he attains to the preliminary "Nirvāṇa," the beatitude of the Arahat, in whom passion is wholly extinct. It is to Arahatship that such phrases as the place of bliss, the home of ease, the holy city, the harbour of refuge, or the cool cave are understood to apply. All these steps belong to mortal life ; they are followed by the final "Nirvāṇa," which takes place at death.

Buddha said nothing with regard to the supreme consummation, except that it would mean complete freedom from every form of transient existence ; which is inevitably bound up, if only by reason of its precariousness, with anxiety and suffering. At the same time he categorically refused to give a definition, or even the most superficial description, of anything outside the region of terminable life, confining himself to negations the moment he encountered infinity, as the Brahmins had done before him, and as we ourselves, in such words as *increate, endless, immortal, immaterial, immeasurable* and the like, do to this day.

When urged by Mālukya, for instance, to explain whether the Perfect One does or does not live on beyond death, Buddha's only reply was that he had never undertaken to make any statement on the point, and that the knowledge was unnecessary to progress in holiness. This appears to have been his constant attitude. Some stories, indeed, make him speak positively of immortality, but they are

open to suspicion. His early followers, on the other hand, by no means understood him to teach that he "who has lost all depravity is annihilated, perishes, and does not exist after death"; for they condemned this belief as a wicked error, and left no stone unturned until they had induced the author of the heresy, Yāmaka, to recant. They believed Buddha to have left Nirvāna undefined, and they had an adequate reason to give for his doing so; this state, the nun Khemā explained to the King of Kosala, could not be gauged by the standards of the corporeal world, being "immeasurable and unfathomable as the great ocean."

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

By C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## No. XIII.—DANCING AS A RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATION.

WHEN the Island Empire of Japan was wrapped in all its mystic sweetness of an individual and exclusive land, many beautiful ceremonials were conducted, and traditions established, by prince and peasant. The fierce tide of modern civilization, which has inundated the fair country like a seismic wave, has not yet swept away all that which in the past made happiness for the people. The refinement of the ceremonials participated in by the Japanese prove that however barbaric some of their social customs may be considered, there existed a simplicity of life and a steadfast belief in some great dominant religious influence, which balanced the fiercer side of their nature. This has left its indelible impress upon the pages of Japan's remarkable history.

The art of dancing in Japan is immemorially old. The grace with which it is demonstrated, even to this present day, is universally acknowledged by all who study and witness a performance carried out according to ancient rules.

As far as we yet know, the origin of dancing dates from the commencement of their history. Out of that uncertain era a luminous all-powerful deity, the Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, gleams as the central figure, whose existence forms the rivet from whence history has radiated. Of the origin of the race we know but little, but there runs through all the traditional pages of the past a fact which may have been overlooked, but one of much importance, wherein it may be clearly seen that, in the commingling of many races, of which this nation is supposed to be derived, there must have been some gentle blood, as well as barbaric infusion, that instilled instincts and predilections for refined arts, and

that these instincts grew and flourished from the commencement of the nation's story, all through the ages and their varied vicissitudes.

We know nothing concerning Japan prior to the appearance of the Sun Goddess and the account of the creation of the Everlasting Great Empire. The records of these traditions were not made known until the year 660 A.D. It is stated that when the goddess withdrew herself into a cave, during a fit of displeasure, and by her temporary withdrawal from her surroundings plunged the world into darkness, she was allured from her self-imprisonment by the power of dancing! Uzumé, the mirthful maiden goddess, assisted by 800 myriad deities, made music till the very heavens shook as if influenced by thunder. Uzumé finally stood upon a drum and danced, tying up with cords the long folds of her sleeves. Her dancing pleased the gods to such an extent that again the heavens were moved, for the gods laughed with joy.

To this day, before the peasants begin their dances, like Uzumé, they tie back with cords the long sleeves of their kimono, and that, in order to ward off evil from without, the shimegawa, or counterpart of the rope made of straw, and used to prevent the Sun Goddess re-entering the cave, is found in constant use. Even little children will tie these ropes before the limit of their playground, to ward off the evil influence of accidents or failures in their games during dancing or playing.

It is curious, when comparing the customs of nations, we find similarity of ideas existing with people the commencement of whose history is said to be centuries apart. Dancing has been consecrated to religious service by many nations, but perhaps nowhere so much as in Japan has it been carried to such an extent of perfection or reverence. There is no doubt much attention was paid to its institution by people piously inclined.

The sacred dances of the Romans were imitated from those of the Greeks, which were supposed to be introduced

by Orpheus. At festivals of religious importance Roman dancing formed an interesting feature. The ancient Egyptians were likewise accomplished in this art, and performed religious manifestations at funerals. Egyptians sometimes danced like the Greeks of both sexes, unclothed ; they also wrestled together in a state of nudity. This was because the beauty of the human form appealed to their artistic minds. To them the beauty of the human form, in the perfection of youth and manhood, far outweighed beauty of features or loveliness of expression.

The Japanese dancers, unlike the Greeks and Romans, did not exhibit bare nether limbs : they did not even don flowing ample garments, or semi-transparent fabrics. The women who took part in religious ceremonies wore dresses that were wadded throughout with a view of concealing the figure as much as possible. Rich brocades, heavily embroidered ; costly velvet dresses trailing on the ground, held down by heavy linings to conceal the feet and ankles ; and long sleeves falling over the hands, were worn. These costumes required much study to manipulate, for the system upon which perfection depended was in the waving of the arms, the swinging of the body, as well as by step-dancing and the beating of time gently by the feet, or by the curving of the limbs. Slowness of action marked the occasion ; devoutness was expressed by moving in concert with a number of performers, each imitating with exact precision of companionship the undulating dreamy swing of a little fan, a rattle, or a branch of a sacred tree or shrub. Each performer prostrated herself in an attitude of exact similitude to her companion, reverent to the highest degree, silent, and suggestive of a sightless faith in things unseen, yet present. All this goes to prove that perhaps, after all, the Japanese understood the art in its truest sense, in a more religious manifestation than any other nation ! Unchanged in the hearts of many is all the sweet past, that national religious influence of ancestral worship whose records are unwritten, whose tenets Westerns cannot

fathom, cannot learn for want of written knowledge. This lives alone in the hearts of the people, influencing their lives as a living faith. A creed that does not alone centre in any special god or deity, but in that crowd of honoured dead whose deeds exist and make the spiritual life of striving millions more livable as time goes on and changes fill their land with the spirit of unrest.

Dances of a religious character are carried out to this day in the temple grounds of Nara and Isé. The Kagura are supposed to embody the same dance as that which effectively recalled the Sun Goddess to reilluminate the universe. Religious demonstrations of this order were conducted by priests, priestesses, and children : the priests commencing the ceremony with the use of musical instruments, consisting of drums, flutes, cymbals, and pieces of wood stacked together. The music was slow and solemn, and the performers traversed the floors of the temple with deliberate and measured steps of a slight dancing movement. After this they prostrated themselves before little altars, portraying sentiments of deep humility. Dancing of a most dignified and devout nature alternated each silent prostration, which was sustained for a prescribed limit of time. The signal for each phase in the ceremony was understood by the note of music on the musical instrument given and used by the priests. Intense silence at intervals was observed, and the stillness as of death on the part of the performers marked the solemnity of the occasion. Sometimes after these religious observances a sacrament followed, in which wine was partaken of by the dancers. It was offered in small shallow unglazed earthen saucers, like those still used on the altars at the Bon Festival. These earthen saucers, which were handed round on white wooden trays of traditional purity and simplicity of design, are still procurable. They set forth the ancient origin of Shinto cults. They can be purchased in this twentieth century on certain days of the year as exact copies of those which were used or made perhaps 2,000 years ago.

Sistrums, rattles, and strange hour-glass-shaped drums can also be found and purchased in the obscure districts which have not yet discarded ancient customs, for the archaic primeval ceremonies carried on through ceaseless ages show how firm a hold in the minds of the sons of the soil is the undying fidelity and faith in things not seen and yet believed.

The dance above described is only one form of a religious nature; others exist equally deserving of comments. Nothing is said to exceed the solemnity of the Bon Odori, or dance in honour of the souls of the Blessed Dead. This dance terminates the most beautiful and touching festivals still annually held in certain districts of Japan on July 13, 14, and 15, of which an account has already appeared in the pages of this journal\* under the title of Bon Matsuri. Bon Odori is more generally observed in the eastern provinces of Echigo, Echien, and Hida; but the details are varied in different districts in these respects, firstly, in that the songs that are sung are of different words; and secondly, that the musical instruments that are selected vary. The origin of this dance is as follows: Dai Mokenren, a disciple of Buddha, was permitted to visit the place where souls suffered hunger for sins committed in a previous state of incarnation. He found his grandmother suffering hunger for refusing to give food to a wandering priest during her lifetime. When Mokenren set food before her it turned into a dish of fire. He confided his grief to Buddha, who graciously commanded him to feed the souls of priests of all countries on the 15th day of the 7th month. This act of piety accomplished, secured for Mokenren's parent release from hunger, and her spirit found rest from the ceaseless torment that had long afflicted the absent and beloved relative.

In some places where this religious dance is carried out,

\* Bonku or Bon Matsuri, a Festival in honour of the Dead, No. 20, vol. x, by C. M. Salwey.

the dancers wear the Amagasa on their heads : the Amagasa is a hat made of braid work ; in other districts they merely cover their hair over with a towel, and don the Yukata, a costume of a light material. The musical instruments selected for the occasion are the Samisen or three-stringed lute, bells, drums, and the Ho-shi-gi, which is composed of blocks of wood strung together and struck or clapped against one another at intervals.

In the province of Hida they use all three instruments, also fancy dresses in which those who participate in the dance impersonate priests, Chinese, and even Europeans. They also gird up with a Tasuki, or sleeve cord, the long sleeves of their kimono, in order to leave the arms free for action.

The dance in honour of the Blessed Dead begins at an early hour in the summer evening and lasts until midnight. Men, women, and children take part in the performance. It is carried out chiefly by peasants, who pay the greatest attention to all the traditional phases of this beautiful and remarkable remembrance of the departed and beloved spirits. The site selected for this ancient ceremonial is some convenient spot near a village, or even the principal street in the village itself ; often it is chosen near the cemetery in order that the close proximity to the graveyard may give solemnity to the observance ; also that the living performers may remember that those sleeping beneath the moss-grown stones of the quiet hakaba were once performers themselves in this sacred rite, and that they, the living, are carrying on the traditions that were taught by the dead, and handed on from one generation after another.

When the site has been determined upon, two bamboo poles are firmly fixed in the ground, upon which to support lanterns of many shapes and colours. These mark the centre of the space round which the performers are to wheel, and move, with slow and rhythmic steps. A stand is also provided for the musicians, elevated from the ground about six feet ; above that a platform is raised, of sufficient

area to accommodate the musicians, and enable them to move about and change places when required to do so during certain intervals and changes in the performance.

The Bon dance tells of an extremely ancient origin. The dreamy gracefulness, the waving of arms, the posturing of feet, accompanied by the sweet singing of the young dancers of both sexes, recalls a primeval simplicity. The spectacle is entirely befitting the solemn joy that peace and rest are being experienced by the Souls of the Dead.

Many dancers dance at the same time, not as with us in couples, but each alone makes part of that weirdly bewitching company. Each imitates the other's action in the gliding of the feet, the waving of the arms, the upward lifting of the hands, the downward bending of the palms—that gesture of welcome suggested by the swaying of the pine branches learnt from Nature's divinely-taught action ; that welcome full of silent and prayerful entreaty, that the spirits they have been to visit will still linger awhile before they repass into the Land of Peace—the unknown land beyond the seas—for whose return these waving arms and loving hands have already woven little boats of straw, replete with the rods of incense, awaiting the returning tide to bear their honoured and beloved guests safely on their way across the treacherous sea.

All is hushed, save the music within the prescribed circle of space ; the spectators respond to the silence and remain in fixed attention, fascinated by the spectacle so truly Oriental, belonging to ages out of whose distance and dimness some mysterious spell seems to emanate, something, as Lafcadio Hearn describes, as "belonging to the unrecorded beginnings of this Oriental life, to the crepuscular Kamiyo itself, to the magical age of the gods ; a symbolism of motion whereof the meaning has been forgotten for innumerable years."\*

All Japanese dancing in ancient times was slow and

\* "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," by Lafcadio Hearn, vol. i. Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., Albemarle Street.

deliberate to the highest degree—at least, that form of dancing which was demonstrated for religious interpretation.

The Nō dances were instituted in the fourteenth century. They were acted in Shinto shrines, first at Isé, then at Omi, Tamba, and afterwards at Nara, the chief centres of Shinto worship. At first they were also of a silent nature, grave and highly decorous. Then a change came, for it was soon apparent what a powerful medium they could become for conveying poetic expressions. In course of time priests were allowed to chant and recite from the ancient literature while they were being performed. The Nō were a series of plays<sup>235</sup> in number. They were acted in sets, each taking about one hour to perform. Hideyoshi was a great patron of these performances, and is said to have taken part in them himself. These plays treated of piety, devotion, martial enthusiasm, fidelity, and many other excellent traits of national character that it was necessary to sustain and arouse. Loyalty and filial duty were treated with delicate feeling. Religion was the governing spirit, poetry the next, followed on by duty and morality. These representations embraced a mine of legendary lore of quaint fantastic sentiments—legends that have been retranslated many times by various linguists, wherein the true spirit of the age has been preserved for many generations to imitate. We do not find that any of these plays were written after the sixteenth century.

They were not for the people, but for the aristocracy of Japan—in fact, it was the only form of stage representation that was attended by the upper classes. Through this medium they learnt the history of their land, the prowess of their forefathers, the deeds of heroism of the deified ancestors of their worship. In the homes of the Daimios a platform was generally erected for the exhibition of certain performances. There was no stage frippery; the stage was of plain, unvarnished white wood, unpainted or decorated in any way whatever. A solitary pine-tree, conventionally treated, made the background. Chorus and

orchestra were accommodated on one side. Masks were worn. Some of these, though fine works of art, and very beautiful, were also hideous in the extreme—almost terrifying—monsters, demons, fearsome-looking, uncanny creatures, carved with cunning subtleness. Many of these still exist, to the delight of collectors. The Niō Kings, with their wrathful and avenging looks, were found among the carved masks used at the Nō drama. These masks, besides being treated to denote ferocity by the deep lines, and upon the visage and eyeballs starting from their sockets, were supplied with fine red and black lacquer, which emphasized all their menacing aspect. This was the original study of these avenging kings, and even after the masks were no longer carved these giant guardians of temples ever assumed ferocious characteristics. Grotesqueness and a display of fierce nature gave to the glyptic art of Japan a touch of genius and a stamp of lifelikeness that will ever give to the Japanese carvers' powers a place among the triumphs of the past that in these later days has never been attained.

The Nō dance being of a religious character, more action than words individualized its performance. The short epic poems are very sweet; a pathos runs through many of them of the sadness and sweetness of a poet's mind.

So much was expressed by gesture rather than by words. Semi-articulate sounds interpreted the spirit that flowed through the drama. Like their pictures, which are full of imagery, full of suggestiveness, of rising tides and coming storms, of winding rivers and storm-tossed rushes, so this Nō dance expressed Nature's sweetest harmonies, sweetest messages—the sobbing of the wind among bending branches, the trickling of water over river-stones, the vibrations of temple-bells across a breadth of undulating land, the flapping of the wings of sea-birds traversing over seas, and within it all, like a breadth of brocade, ran the golden thread of religious aspirations, weaving round the

listeners that magic web of fate which drew them on to listen and learn, to wait and watch, to suffer and to dare when, in after-life, the proud moment for conquest came over their own hearts, or over the wills and passions of others with whom they would have to play out the battle of life. "Such dim utterances, echoed from the eternal melody of silence, may seem to the ignorant curious or barbaric. But there can be little doubt that they constitute the insignia of a great art."\*

The dances witnessed in modern times are, it can be easily understood, not of this nature. The geisha of to-day dance to please the eyes of foreigners, as they danced in the past to delight the travellers of their own country. Religion did not enter into the program of the art of pleasing which was the training of this particular class of society, but the dancing-girls of ancient times exhibited much grace and feeling : they performed with measured steps and stately mien. They wore robes of costly material, and were clad in splendid attire. They were called into the service of princes, and often used swords, which they poised and cleverly manipulated during their performance. Every pleasure had its purpose. Dancing was no mere senseless arabesque, it was a means of conveying literature, symbolism, and religion to the minds of the witnesses. It received the encouragement of princes, because, as I have stated before, the aristocracy never frequented theatres, unless in disguise. They maintained their own troops and performers at their own expense ; but, as this monograph only is to treat of religious dances, descriptions of other forms for pleasure and amusement must be reserved for some future occasion.

\* "Ideals of the East," by K. Okakura. John Murray, Albemarle Street.

THE EMPEROR BĀBAR AND THE HISTORIAN  
KHWAND AMĪR.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

A COMPARISON of Bābar's Memoirs with Khwānd Amīr's Ḥabību-s-Siyar, or "Friend of Biographers," raises an interesting question. Both works give details about Bābar, his father, and his father's brothers, and the two accounts resemble each other so closely that it seems almost impossible to doubt that either one has been copied from the other, or they are both derived from a common source. Bābar's Memoirs are written in Turki, and the Ḥabib is in Persian, but, allowing for this difference, the phrasing is in several places the same, and the names of wives and children and of servants often follow in the same order. I have discussed this point already in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1906, and must refer to it for instances of parallel passages; but now that I have studied the matter more closely, it is necessary to say something more, and to give reasons for a change of view.

The impression now made upon me is that Khwānd Amīr got his information from Shaikh Zain, who was Bābar's secretary and historiographer. Khwānd Amīr was intimate with Shaikh Zain, and at the end of his first volume he pays him extravagant compliments, which seem to indicate that he was under literary obligations to him. Shaikh Zain was the grandson of the saint S. Zainu-d-din Khwāfi. His brother, Nūru-d-din, died at Kabul in Bābar's service in 928 (1522), and he himself was there in Bābar's employ in 929. He seems to have accompanied Bābar to India, and he died there during the reign of Humāyūn in 940 (1533-34). According to Badayūni (Ranking's translation, 448) he translated Bābar's Memoirs

into Persian, and it would seem from *ibid.*, p. 611, and Rieu, 926<sup>b</sup>, that this was a different work from his account of the conquest of India. I do not think that Khwānd Amīr had access to Bābar's Turkī Memoirs. I think that if Bābar had shown them to him, or he had otherwise seen them, he would have mentioned the fact, and he would also not have deviated from the statements in the Memoirs as he has done in one or two instances.\* But he must have heard that Bābar was engaged in writing his Memoirs, and he had ample opportunities of obtaining information about Bābar from S. Zain. He may also have seen his Persian translation, if it was then in existence. Khwānd Amīr was a Herat man, and it is rather unlikely that if he had seen the original Turkī of the Memoirs, he would have been able to read it.

Khwānd Amīr began his *Habibu-s-Siyar*, or "Friend of Biographers," in 927 (1521) and finished it in 930. Two chronograms show this, and the fact that he did not carry down his history of Shāh Ismāīl's reign to the death of that sovereign is strong evidence that his work was substantially completed in the first half of 930, that is, in the beginning of 1524. A manuscript referred to by Dr. Rieu, Persian Cat. I. 98<sup>b</sup>, gives the date of completion as Rabi' I. 930, that is, January, 1524, and so about four months before Shāh Ismāīl's death, which took place on 19 Rajab of that year, that is, in the last week of May, 1524. But it is evident that Khwānd Amīr revised his book after 930, and made some alterations and additions. There are two lithographical editions of the *Habib*, one made in Tīhrān in 1855, and another in Bombay in 1857. In the Tīhrān edition it is stated—by the author, apparently—at the end of the fourth chapter of the first volume (p. 197), that the work

\* For instance, he says that Umar Shaikh fell from the roof of his pigeon-house, whereas Bābar tells us that he fell with the roof and building. He also puts Bābar's dream before Bābar's talk with his officers about the time when Samarcand would be taken, whereas Bābar seems to represent the conversation as having taken place before the dream.

was finished for the second time on Thursday the 25th Zil Qáda, 931, that is, September 14, 1525. But the Bombay edition, which is the more valuable of the two, speaks of a third revision (Elliot's History, IV., p. 155, and Rieu, 1079<sup>b</sup>). The editor, Mírzā Muhammad Alī of Shiraz, was so fortunate as to secure a copy of the Ḥabib in Khwānd Amīr's own handwriting, and with the date 932 (1525-26). See the advertisement at the end of the second volume, p. 50. This manuscript was the basis of the Bombay edition, and was in all probability the very one which Khwānd Amīr completed at the Tirmohinī in Behar in 1535 (see Elliot, IV., p. 156). For it contains at p. 83 of the fourth chapter of the first volume the Note which Khwānd Amīr made on that occasion. This Note has been partially translated in Elliot, IV., pp. 143 and 155, but the two quotations taken together only give a small portion of the original. Nor are the translations, I think, quite accurate. Instead of the translation, "The compiler, while on his travels in Hindustan, finished this volume to the entire satisfaction of all his friends, stopping every day and every night at a different place," the rendering should be : "The author, while on his way to India (*dar asnāt safar-i-Hindustan*), when it was a case of (verse) 'Each day a march, each night a halt,' took this volume with him, as it were a beloved friend (*dostān*), and brought it to a completion." Then he compares his pen dipping into the dark ink to a merchant who compasses sea and land to gather marine pearls and subterranean jewels. The Note also tells us that he left his native home of Herat in the middle of Shāwal, 933, that is, the beginning of August, 1527, and came to Qandahar. He began correcting his manuscript there, but before he had got to the end of Part I. he had to leave for India. This was on 10 Jumāda-ṣ-ṣānī, 934, or March 3, 1528. The journey to India occupied him seven months, and he reached Agra and was introduced to Bābar on 4 Muḥarram, 935 (September 18, 1528). By this time he seems to have acquired a much greater respect for Bābar

than he formerly entertained, for he declines to mention him by name in the Note, as this would not be sufficiently reverential. He then records that he finished his book at the Tirmohinī, a time which corresponds to April-May, 1529. Though the Note is inserted at the end of Chapter IV. of Vol. i., and in the beginning only speaks of the first volume, I think it must refer to a revision of the whole work, for we do not find any note of a subsequent revision, and the words at the end of the Note are "*īn kitāb*—this book," and not *īn jazū* or *īn jild*.

Now an interesting thing about this Note is that it is wanting in many manuscripts, and is not found in the Tīhrān edition. The inference is that it was written after many copies of the *Habib* had been distributed, and that that work was substantially completed, as the chronograms show, in 930.

Khwānd Amir wrote several other books besides the *Habib*, and among them was the seventh volume of his grandfather's work, the *Rauzatu-s-Ṣafā*. This work professes to be by Mir Khwānd, the grandfather, but, as Rieu points out, it is, in great part at least, by Khwānd Amir. The grandfather died in 903, but the book carries down the history of Sultan Husain to his death in 911, and has also details about his children. There are many indications in the work that the writer was Khwānd Amir, the grandson, and among them is the passage at p. 41 of the Bombay edition of the seventh volume of the *Rauzatu-s-Ṣafā*, corresponding to p. 262 of the Bombay edition of the *Habib*, which says that the author was informed by Badia'-z-zumān (Sultan Husain's eldest son) of this perilous mountain journey after his defeat by his father six years after it occurred. This must have been in 908, for the defeat was in 902. We do not know when the *Rauzatu-s-Ṣafā*, Vol. vii., was written. Apparently it was commenced long before the *Habib*, for Dr. Rieu quotes a statement in the *Khulāṣatu-i-Akhbār*, which was apparently written in 905, to the effect that the seventh volume had been left un-

finished for want of materials (Persian Cat. I., 93<sup>a</sup>). Dr. Rieu states (*ibid.*) that the date 929 is mentioned in several places of the seventh volume, which brings it to about the time of the completion of the *Habib*. It was certainly, however, I think, completed before the revisions of the *Habib*. Dr. Rieu states that the seventh volume of the *Rauzat* agrees word for word, excepting the preamble, with that portion of the *Habib* which treats of Sultān Husain's reign, and refers to the Bombay edition of the latter work, pp. 201–374 of Vol. ii. But the statement is somewhat misleading. The two works do correspond, word for word, in all that directly refers to Sultan Husain, but, embedded in the life of Sultan Husain, as given in the Bombay *Habib*, there is a biography of Bābar which is not in the *Rauzatu-s-Safā*. See pp. 271–76 of the *Habib*, Vol. ii. Neither does it occur in the Tīhrān edition of the *Habib*, which shows, I think, that the biography was added at the third revision, and when Khwānd Amir was in India. It is also noteworthy that Khwānd Amir, in the Bombay *Habib*, not only gives Bābar the title of *Ghāzi*, which he did not assume till after his victory over Rāna Sāngā, but also calls him, p. 195 of second volume, "King of Land and Sea" (*pādishāh bahr u barr*), and gives him the title of *Kishwar-Sitānī*, or world-conqueror, designations which could only refer to his conquest of India. These titles are wanting in the Tīhrān edition, where also the notices of Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Mahmūd, the uncles of Bābar, are much shorter than those in the Bombay edition. Indeed, when Khwānd Amir wrote the seventh volume of the *Rauzat*, and the first and second editions of the *Habib*, he did not even know where Sultan Ahmad died. Another reason for believing the biography of Bābar to be a subsequent addition to the *Habib* is that it comes in awkwardly and unnecessarily. Khwānd Amir is writing the life of Sultan Husain, and digresses in the middle of it to tell about Bābar. Evidently he was conscious of this himself, for he says, by way of excuse, that his readers must see that it is proper for him

now to perfume his pen with an account of the great king Zahiru-dīn Muhammad Bābar.

It would appear from a passage in the T. Rashīdī, p. 112 of translation, that Haidar Mirzā had seen the last revision of the Ḥabīb, for he says that the story of the quarrels between the two brothers Omar Shaikh Mizū (Bābar's father) and Sultan Aḥmad Mirzā is given in detail in the history of Mir Khwānd.\* This can only refer, I think, to the final revision of the Ḥabīb and not to the Rauzatu-ṣ-Ṣafā or the earlier editions of the Habīb. For the Rauzat, Vol. vi., has nothing about Sultan Aḥmad, and the account of him in the Tīhrān edition of the Ḥabīb is very short. I fancy that it was because the copy of the Ḥabīb that Erskine had did not contain Bābar's biography that he did not notice the resemblances between the Ḥabīb and the Memoirs. Still, he ought to have noticed the important passages of the portion of the Ḥabīb which dealt with Shah Ismā'il's life which relate to Bābar's campaigns in Persia. Rieu's Cat. I. 101<sup>b</sup> shows that this portion of the Ḥabīb was in Erskine's possession.

It has generally been supposed that Bābar wrote his Memoirs in India. He certainly corrected them there, but it is quite possible that he began them during his hours of ease in Kabul. If he did not begin them till he was in India, he must surely have wanted memoranda to give him all the details of his early life, the names of his

\* It is singular that Haidar Mirzā did not rather refer to his cousin's (Bābar) Memoirs, of which we know that he possessed a copy (see p. 173 of T. R.), for an account of Bābar's uncles and father. But perhaps he preferred to refer his readers to a Persian and generally accessible book than to private Memoirs written in Turki.

Though I have abandoned the idea that Bābar copied from Khwānd Amīr, yet the matter is not free from doubt. I may also point out that Khwānd Amīr had as good opportunities of knowing particulars about Bābar's uncle Sultan Mahmūd, and about Sultan Husain Baiqara, as Bābar had. His father was Sultan Mahmūd's Vizier, and he himself was in the service of Badia-z-Zamān, the eldest son of Sultan Husain. He also accompanied Muḥammad Zamān, Badia-z-Zamān's son, on one of his early expeditions. He calls him Maqdūmzāda—that is, his master's son.

father's officers, etc. For these he may have been indebted to some court chronicle.

I have only to add that though my idea that Bābar copied Khwānd Amīr is probably erroneous, the importance of the Ḥabīb in regard to Bābar is not destroyed. It is the Ḥabīb's account of Shah Ismā'il's reign which best enables us to fill up one or two gaps in the Memoirs.

THE ANCIENT CHINESE BOWL IN THE  
SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

(See our last issue, July, 1909.)

E. H. PARKER.

LATIN TRANSLATION BY THE REV. HOANG PÊH-LUH  
(i.e., PÈRE PIERRE HOANG), AFTER THE DECIPHERMENT  
INTO MODERN SCRIPT OF THE METROPOLITAN  
GRADUATE AND SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT  
*T'ANG WEI-CHI*.\*

ANNO Imperatoris, luna prima die *sin-yu*,† Princeps ex regno suo *Tsin* adivit Imperatorem, quod ipse sedavit rebelles *Jung*. Imperator hunc recipiens ter gratificavit : (1) in confine imperii ; (2) ad portam urbis imperialis ; (3) in templo atavorum Imperatoris : tandem in templo *ming-t'ang*,‡ et convivavit illum in templo atavorum Imperatorum dynastiæ *Chou* ; et contulit ei Primum novem Principatum.

Imperator Principem alloquutus est, dicens : "Aman-tissime Avuncule, satage et insiste vestigiis nostrorum prædecessorum qui erant *Wen*, *Wu*, *Ch'eng*, et *K'ang*, qui omnes ab initio in virtutibus perfecti, et in administratione rei publicæ diligentissimi, sese glorificarunt in occidentali parte imperii : tribus inde seculis elapsis, statu rerum vicissitudine delapso, sapientibus Imperatoribus resurgentibus, civilis status rei publicæ maxime refloruit§ usque

\* This personage is a native of *T'ai-ts'ang*, near Shanghai, and an Assistant Peking Board President, but is now at home in mourning for his mother, and acting as Superintendent of the Board of Communications' High Schools at Shanghai.

† This is the fifty-eighth day of the endless sixty-day cycle. The year was the seventeenth of the *Chou* dynasty, Emperor *Ting Wang*, twenty-ninth day of the first moon. Père Hoang is himself the author of several valuable works on the calendar, and he works out this date to be March 18, 590 B.C.

‡ Père Hoang adds, by way of explanatory gloss (which is not in the text) : "In quo Imperator recipit visitationes Principum."

§ From *tribus* to *refloruit* is an expansion, most of which is not in the text, evidently based on the supposition that the seventy-fifth character is

ad dissitas barbaras gentes, publicatis præmiis et exhortationibus sine distinctione inter longinquas incolas vel propinquas. Tunc consanguinei ac affines uno corde adjunvant dynastiam nostram. Ita ad illud vester prædecessor *Wén Hou*\* ex toto corde auxilium contulit nostræ dynastiæ. Hujus merita splenditissima inscripta in monumentis archivii imperialis, et inserta in catalogis genealogiæ nostræ dynastiæ, ut celebritas consanguineorum in indefinitas generationes futuras prolongetur. Attamen Cælum non nobis omnes prosperitates secundum scopum nostrum contulit, nec nobis concessit omnes felices successus. Hæc evenerunt ex nostra culpa, quod ab recto ordine discessimus : barbari longinqui recedunt, rebellionem machinantur, nostros cognatos seducunt, et dissensiones inter populum meum disseminant ; incolas meos ex urbibus abducunt."

Imperator geminans dicit : " *U-hu!* olim in seculo præcedenti Imperatores *Li*, *Sūan*, *Yu*, *P'ing*, et *Hwan* fuerunt sub magno periculo ne dynastia periret : feliciter fuit vester atavus *Wén Kung*, insistens vestigiis sui majoris *Wén Hou*,\* qui a calamitatibus nostram dynastiam liberavit. Nostra dynastia huic dignam remunerationem donavit. Omnia fuerunt inserta in monumentis : siquidem nigri boves pro sacrificiis non dantur nisi illis qui meriti sunt ; arcus ruber et arcus niger non conferuntur nisi dignis ; jaspis sacrificialis et jaspis niger ad usum sigilli non nisi consanguineis dantur. Eidem donati sunt termille servi ; tercentum tigrino signo ornati milites tributi sunt : eidem auctæ sunt sex ditiones *Wén*, *Yuan*, *Kin*, *Fan*, *Küan*,†

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*hing*, and not *hia*. All this (and innumerable other points connected with the words and meaning of the bowl inscription) is explained in detail, with Chinese character supplied, in an article upon the subject in the *T'oung Pao*, published by Brill of Leyden.

\* Père Hoang gives twice in this long allocution the specific name of *Wén Hou*, which is not in the text, though the Emperor's allusion is manifestly to him ; the *gui* (second citation) evidently relates to *Wén Kung*. All other points have been discussed in the *T'oung Pao*, where the original Chinese characters are printed.

† Père Hoang omits *Küan*, which, indeed, I myself only discovered by accident ; I have given full reasons and references in the *T'oung Pao*.

*Man*; ita regnum *Tsin* dilatum fuit; fines regni *Tsin* amplificati sunt ob labores et merita Principis *Wén Kung*, et hic glorficatus est inter suos equales principes per nostra munera."

Imperator gemens dicit: " *U-hu!* quod actualis status imperii fuit perturbatus non venit ex eo quod ego illud turbavi, sed quia isti rebelles a multis annis conceperant animum perturbationis, et concupiverunt nostram ditionem; indi tibi, amantissime avuncule mæstitiam intulit."

Imperator gemens dicit: " *U-hu!* Amantissime Avuncule, ego ero generosus in muneribus distribuendis sicuti prædecessores nostri; ego jam solidus restitutus per tuos labores tibi confero Primum novem Principatum, et eris *fang-pêh*. Quamquamque gentem male se ducentem poteris expugnare, invadere, et punire et castigare, atque reducere ad nostram obedientiam. Siqui principes tibi non obedient, ego eos pænis infligam."

Tunc Princeps *King Kung*\* prosternens se capite pluries percutit terram Imperatori gratias agens.

Imperator dicit: "Amantissime Avuncule, vade; ego non repetam quæ dixi; sed tu non obliviscaris mea dicta, ut sis consimilis tuo atavo *Wén Hou*."

Tunc Princeps *King Kung* prosternens se capite pluries terram percutit. Eodem anno† luna secunda die sub *kiah-wu*‡ Princeps, ex bello sedandis rebellibus illato, reversus, obtulit sua merita primo fundatori regni§ *Tang Shuh* et celebri atavo *Wén Hou*. Die tertio sequenti, sub signo cyclico *ping-shén*, sacrificium obtulit in templo avi necnon in templo patrio. Die sequenti sub *ting-yu* occidit

\* Here and below Père Hoang uses the words "the Duke *King*" instead of "the Prince of *Tsin*"; between the two instances he also uses "tuo atavo *Wén Hou*," the second two of the four words not being in the text.

† The tenth year of the Marquess of *Tsin*; orthodox rulers of all ranks were styled "duke" after death.

‡ April 20, 590 B.C., according to Père Hoang's calculations.

§ The words "primo fundatori regni" and "celebri atavo" are not in the text, Père Hoang having apparently used his own discretion throughout the translation as to when he should introduce explanatory glosses.

bovem ut sanguinis ejus liniret foramina hujus ænei pelvis  
fusi in perpetuam memoriam decorationis Imperatoris.  
Princeps *King Kung* prosterrens se capite pluries terram  
percutit ad gratias agendas Imperatori.

Hic pelvis fuit infusus in monumentum perpetuandum  
ad generationes decem millium annorum.

DR. BUSHELL'S TRANSLATION OF THE SAME INSCRIPTION  
AS PUBLISHED UPON PAGES 85, 86, OF HIS "CHINESE  
ART," VOL. I. (WYMAN AND SONS, FETTER LANE.)

[Those closely interested in the matter will notice very serious discrepancies between Père Hoang's and Dr. Bushell's translations. On the other hand, my own translation, published in the *T'oung Pao*, differs from both, and of course must be imperfect, as no one yet knows what about a dozen of the injured original characters really are. It seems to me, however, that it is more important for us to establish the precise identity in modern script of the few doubtful original ancient characters than to squabble and wrangle about their precise meaning, so long, at least, as no fundamental error in translation or in historical fact be concerned. I acknowledge my indebtedness throughout to both Père Hoang and Dr. Bushell, and do not in the least put forward my own (*T'oung Pao*) translation as perfect, even apart from the question of doubtful original characters.]

"In the first month of the King on the day *hsin yu* (58th of the sexagenary cycle) the Prince Marquis of Chin announced the subjugation of the Jung, and was received in audience by the King. The King, having thrice rewarded him for his services, on the frontier, in the royal domain, and in the ancestral temple of the royal house, granted him an audience in the sacred hall of the palace, and again took part with the Prince of Chin in the sacrifice of the ancestral temple of the Chou dynasty."

"The King specially invested the Prince of Chin with the nine symbols of high rank. In his charge on the occasion the King spoke thus: 'Uncle, you have done

grandly! In ancient times among our royal ancestors reigned Wêng, Wu, Ch'êng, and K'ang, who determinedly and warily were all diligent in their cultivation of virtue. Their fame was illustrious on the western borders, and they overawed central China (Hsia) as well as the outer subjugated and barren wilds. The justice of their penal code struck all alike with awe and fear, so that in distant and near regions, at home as well as abroad, one virtue prevailed. In these times lived also your own accomplished ancestors, who loyally exerted their hearts in the service of our royal house, so that their great glory and grand deeds have been constantly recorded in the sworn archives, and proclaimed at the meetings of the heads of the clans, and their praises shall resound to the distant generations. In our own time, later, when harmony with heaven demands greater awe, the targets, as it were, have not been shot at with arrows, the silk cocoons have been left unwound, and there has been truly a failure of virtue, with the result of disaccord of the powers celestial and terrestrial. The four quarters not being loyal (reverent), foreigners have also fallen away, and the Jung have made a great insurrection carrying off our beloved kinsmen, dispersed abroad our officers and people, destroyed and emptied the suburbs of our capital and our walled towns.'

"The King said: 'Oh ho! Formerly during the reigns of Li, Hsüan, and Yu, down to P'ing and Huan, crossing flooded waters, as it were, without reverence and awe, they again were in danger of falling into the deep abyss, and our royal house was again in trouble. Then again there was your ancestor Wêng Kung, who was able to maintain the fame established by his accomplished predecessors, and succeeded in checking our calamities. We also could not do less than fulfil our solemn pledges, and our decrees are recorded in the annals of the State. The war chariots and teams of stallions were bestowed on him solely as rewards for his valour, the red bows and black bows were given for his prowess in the field, the tablets and credentials

of jade were presented to him as a kinsman of the King, while the chamberlains, thirty in number, the three hundred tiger lifeguards, and the territories of the six cities of Wēn, Yuan, Yin, Fan, Ying, and Wan were added as permanent appendages of the State of Chin. Thus also was your ancestor Wēn Kung liberally rewarded with outside fiefs, and thereby strengthened to undertake our gracious charge, and become renowned among his fellow princes.'

"The King said: 'Oh ho! It is not I, the solitary man, who selfishly covet my own personal ease; it is the Jung who, never satisfied, beguile the simple hearts of the people, and with flames and rude assaults treacherously attack our officers, so as to bring this trouble to you, my Uncle.'

"The King said: 'Oh ho! Uncle! grand are your illustrious services which carry on and perpetuate those of your predecessors, and necessitate no change in the enduring royal charge. I, the solitary man, am indebted to you for my tranquillity, and I offer to you my felicitations. You have already been invested with the nine symbols of your rank, and I now charge you with the appointment of Superintendant Prince (Po) of the Outer Regions, with power to make war, to chastise rebels, to punish the refractory, to lead troops, to have free access to Court, and use of the State resources. As soon as the completion of our appointment shall have been reported to all the princes, if any one of them should dare not to follow, I, the solitary man, will signally punish him.' The Prince of Chin twice bowed with his head to the ground in obedient acknowledgment of the gracious charge of the Son of Heaven.

"The King said: 'Uncle! Rest awhile. My appointment shall be forthwith made known. Do you reflect before taking it up on the means of emulating your accomplished ancestors, and afterwards devote yourself to the task.' The Prince of Chin twice bowed with his head to the ground.

"In the second month of the year on the day *kéng-wu*

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(7th of the cycle) the Prince of Chin, having returned to his home after the subjugation of the Jung, offered solemn sacrifice at the shrine of his ancestor, the accomplished Prince T'ang Shu. On the following day *ping-shén* (8th of the cycle) he announced his successes at the shrine of his grandfather, and proclaimed his merits at the shrine of his father. On the day *ting-yu* (34th of the cycle) the sacrificial bowl ordered to be made was cast, inscribed with the gracious charge of the King. The Prince of Chin twice bowed with his head to the ground in reverent acknowledgment of the favourable charge of the King. May this bowl be handed down for ten thousand years, and be everlastingly treasured and used by sons and grandsons!"

## THE TUSSUR SILKWORM IN INDIA.\*

SOME attention is at present being given in several British Colonies and Dependencies to the production of wild and cultivated silks. This is notably the case in Uganda (*Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, 1907, 5. 438), British East Africa and Ceylon (*Bulletin*, p. 202), whilst in India steps are being taken to improve the methods of tussur silkworm rearing. This last-mentioned industry is of considerable interest, and a short account of it, and especially of the improvements introduced recently, is given below.

In addition to the mulberry silkworm, *Bombyx mori*, there are several varieties of silk-moths, the larvæ of which are capable of producing silk in sufficient quantity and of such a quality as to be of considerable commercial value. When such silkworms are found in a wild state, the silk produced by them is known as "wild silk." In some cases it is possible to hatch such worms and rear them under artificial conditions, when the silk produced is much superior in quality to the wild variety, owing to its being preserved in one unbroken length and not disturbed by the worm during its emergence from the cocoon.

The silkworms generally referred to as "wild" belong, for the most part, to the family *Saturniidae*, whereas the domestic or mulberry-feeding silkworms belong to the family *Bombycidæ*. Some genera of the *Saturniidae*, however, have been domesticated, and of these perhaps the one of greatest commercial importance is that from which tussur, or tasar, silk is obtained.

The cocoon of the Indian tussur silkworm is attached to the food-plant by a strong silken stem, generally about three inches in length, and which terminates at the other end from the cocoon in a strong loop by which it is securely fastened to the branch, so that there is little danger of it

\* Reprinted from the *Imperial Institute Bulletin*, vol. vii., No. 2.

becoming loose and falling to the ground. The cocoons are hard and compact in structure, and contain a large amount of coarse, strong, buff-coloured silk. They have a considerable value both for reeling and spinning, and are largely used in the manufacture of plush and other silk fabrics.

The Indian tussur moth was formerly generally known as *Antheraea mylitta*, but Sir George Watt, in *The Commercial Products of India*, refers to it as *Antheraea paphia*, Linn. Chinese tussur silk is the product of a related insect, *A. pernyi*, so that the Chinese tussur silk is distinct from that of India. When full grown, the tussur worm is about four inches in length and of a pale green colour, and has twelve joints, each marked with reddish spots and a reddish-yellow band, which runs along either side.

The tussur silkworm occurs in a wild state in many parts of India, but its chief habitat may be described as the region having the Ganges as its northern and the Godavari as its southern boundary, with the coast ranges from Midnapur in Orissa to Ramgar in Hyderabad as its south-eastern, and the Narbuda river and the Kaimur mountains as its north-western boundary. The insect crosses these limitations to a certain extent, being met with on the north of the Ganges, along the foot of the Himalaya from Nepal to Sikkim, in Assam and in the Khasia hills, and in many parts of Bengal. It is also found south of the Godavari, and in the mountains of the Madras Presidency. Beyond the region defined above, however, it can only be said to occur to a small extent and in a degenerate condition, and outside that area, with the exception of a small corner of the North-West Provinces at Mirzapur, the cocoons are not even collected. The name "tussur," or "tasar," has unfortunately been applied in India to all fawn-coloured indigenous silks, and at Mirzapur, a mixed cotton and silk fabric bears that name. It is extremely doubtful, therefore, if the tussur worm proper occurs anywhere beyond the regions and places mentioned, and it is incorrect to regard

it as being met with throughout the entire peninsula of India. It nowhere occurs on the Himalaya proper, and is never found above 4,000 feet in altitude. It is rarely, if ever, recorded on the alluvial plains, except where these are limited and confined by hilly undulations.

A large number of plants are reported as furnishing a satisfactory food for the tussur silkworm. Sir George Watt gives the following list, but suggests that it is by no means complete: *Anogeissus latifolia*, Wall.; *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.; *Bauhinia variegata*, Linn.; *Bombax malabaricum*, D.C.; *Careya arborea*, Roxb.; *Carissa Carandas*, Linn.; *Celastrus paniculata*, Will.; *Chloroxylon Swietenia*, D.C.; *Dodonæa viscosa*, Linn.; *Eugenia Jambolana*, Lam.; *Ficus Benjamina*, Linn.; *F. religiosa*, Linn.; *F. retusa*, Linn.; *Lagerstræmia indica*, Linn.; *L. parviflora*, Hook.; *Ricinus communis*, Linn.; *Shorea robusta*, Gœrtn.; *Tectona grandis*, Linn.; *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bedd.; *T. belerica*, Roxb.; *T. Catappa*, Linn.; *T. tomentosa*, W. and A.; *Zizyphus Jujuba*, Lam.

Of these plants, *Lagerstræmia indica* and *L. parviflora*, *Shorea robusta*, *Terminalia tomentosa* and *Zizyphus Jujuba* are probably the most successful food-stuffs.

#### Rearing of the Worm.

Although the tussur silkworm is found in a wild state in India, the Indian tussur silk of commerce is obtained from worms which have been reared in a state of semi-domestication. This is effected by growing suitable food-plants and attaching to them wild cocoons collected from the jungle. Moths emerge from these cocoons, eggs are laid almost immediately, and the worms, on hatching, commence to feed on the plants provided. The worms moult their skins five times, at intervals of from five to eight days, and commence to spin cocoons in about thirty-six to forty days after hatching. The first crop of cocoons is usually reserved for the production of eggs. The wild cocoons are collected in the early part of the hot season, generally

about March, and the moths of the second generation emerge about August. The eggs they lay are used for rearing the main crop of cocoons in the latter part of the rainy season. Generally speaking, the cocoons of the second generation do not produce moths until the rainy season, but much depends upon the conditions of warmth and moisture that obtain. During the time the caterpillars are feeding on the trees in the open, heavy rain is almost of daily occurrence, and the experiments that have been made show that without this frequent watering the caterpillars will not thrive.

The insects are subject to the attacks of various enemies and diseases; the moths, while still hanging to the cocoons, are said to be liable to the attacks of bats, rats and ants, and the caterpillars often fall a prey to toads, snakes, rats, wasps, ants, and the hemipterous insect *Canthecona furcellata*. They also perish in large numbers from the attack of a dipterous insect, *Masicera grandis*. Little seems to have been ascertained about the diseases to which tussur silkworms are subject, but some of the diseases which affect the mulberry silkworm, notably "grasserie," are found also to affect the tussur worms. It is said to be no uncommon occurrence for the whole of a crop to die off, leaving the rearers without any return whatever for the time and labour expended.

From time to time, the Bengal Government have endeavoured to foster the rearing of the tussur silkworm, but in spite of this the industry has gradually declined in the province. Sir George Watt has ascribed this decline to the successful supply, by China, of a cocoon suitable for the same purposes as tussur, and to the cheaper manufacturers of Europe. Recently, however, the Bengal Department of Agriculture decided to inaugurate tussur silkworm rearing experiments on model farms, and an account of the results obtained is given by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bengal, in a recent issue of the *Indian Agriculturist*.

The important tussur districts of the province are Singhbhum, Manbhumi, Birbhumi, Southal Parganas, Bankura, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, and the Mowbhanj Estate. Singhbhum is the most important, and it was decided to open the first farm in this district at Chaibassa. The climate there is dry, and November, December and January are cool months. The hot season sets in early in March and continues until the end of June ; the maximum temperature (in April, May and June) is 90° to 100°, while the temperature for December and January is about 52° to 64°. In 1906, forty acres of land were taken up one mile outside Chaibassa, and the first farm was laid out, the necessary buildings being erected and young "asan" or "saj" trees (*Terminalia tomentosa*) planted ten inches apart all over the area.

In commencing experiments on the model farms, the Government were desirous of ascertaining whether the decline in the tussur silk industry was due (1) to neglect on the part of the rearers, or (2) to some inherent defect in the methods used.

Formerly the rearers collected a new supply of seed-cocoons every third or fourth year, but it is stated that for the last ten years they have kept the same strain of seed-cocoons in hand without renewing the stock from wild seed, with the result that deterioration has set in, the stock has become diseased, and the cocoons produced are generally small and of inferior quality.

The Government propose to gather the large wild tussur cocoons, called "muga," from the jungle, allow the moths to emerge and lay their eggs, and afterwards issue the domesticated seed to rearers. It is hoped that by these means the stock will be strengthened and the decline arrested.

The work which is being carried on at the experimental farm during the present year includes the distribution of one-year domesticated seed, and the comparison of genuine wild tussur-cocoons with the one-year and two-year

domesticated cocoons. It is also proposed to rear a variety of tussur silkworm known as "laryas"; this is said to be a distinct type, but the only difference appears to be in the length of the peduncle or stock of the cocoon. The moths emerge from the "laryas" cocoons in July, go through one life cycle, and form cocoons in November and December.

Other experiments to be carried out include the planting of *Terminalia tomentosa* ("asan") and *T. Arjuna* ("arjun") in the nursery, the comparison of the weights of cocoons, and also the estimation of the proportions of silk and waste obtained from each class of cocoons.

## THE BRITISH TREATY WITH SIAM.

By MAJOR J. F. A. MCNAIR, C.M.G., R.A.

IN the last number of this REVIEW (pp. 215-16), under the head of "Summary of Events," we gave a résumé of the Treaty between the British and Siamese Governments which was signed at Bangkok on March 10, 1909, and has since been ratified and confirmed. I propose to review some of its details.

The Treaty itself is a carefully drawn up agreement—or contract, rather—between the two States, and we observe that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in referring to it lately, stated that it was neither the result of a conquest nor of an occupation, but was simply a transfer to us of the Suzerainty of Siam over the Native States of Kelantan, Tringanu, Kedah, Perlis, and the adjacent islands.

The Treaty is comprised in eight articles, to which are affixed seven enclosures, with an annex and a map defining the proposed boundary of the frontiers between the two territories.

This Treaty, as above stated, has been now solemnly ratified by the Supreme Powers in each State, and nothing remains to be done but the delimitation and marking out of these frontiers in accordance with the map and the boundary protocol annexed to the Treaty.

Upon a careful survey of the scope and drift of the articles of the Treaty, it appears to me that all rights and obligations have been very judiciously preserved in the framing of them, and also that the jural relations subsisting between the two States have been well and scrupulously defined, so that there should be no difficulty as to the easy and effective working of all the clauses of the Convention.

I have myself visited all these Native States, and can therefore write with some authority, and if there is any dis-

cordant note to add to these remarks of mine, it is that no reference has been made in the Treaty to the extension of the British sphere of influence over the Siamese territories as far north as the Isthmus of Kraw, which is at the head of the Malay Peninsula between the Kaman branch of the Pak-chan River in Tenasserim, and the Champong River in Siam. Over a great part of this territory Quedah had at one time full sway, but was dispossessed by the Siamese from Ligor, a country which was founded four centuries ago by the King of Ayodhya, and was then named Muang Latchon. This Pak-chan River is said to be navigable for steamers drawing twelve feet of water up to fifteen miles from the sea, and it might therefore be possible to construct a ship canal through this portion of the Isthmus, and so to connect the Malacca Strait with the Gulf of Siam.

The forming of such a canal, it is needless to point out, would be highly prejudicial to our *entrepôt* and Port of Singapore; and the fact that it would shorten the journey from Ceylon to Hong-kong by over five hundred miles, or about four days' steaming, is a sufficient inducement for any foreign Power to bring pressure to bear upon our Siamese ally to engage in the enterprise.

I have seen the surveys made by some French engineers, and they thought that it was not at all impossible to form a channel between the two seas, as the highest ground on the Isthmus was not much over seventy feet.

I have little more to add, except to suggest that the chiefs of the States to be transferred should be informed without delay that for the future the control and influence over their States would be exercised by the British Government. This is very desirable, that they may willingly join the federation of the other Native States of the Peninsula, which, under Article IV. of the Treaty, will jointly assume their indebtedness to Siam.

Since the above was penned the gratifying intelligence has been received, through the columns of the *Straits Budget*, that His Excellency the Governor of the Straits

Settlements, Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., and party, consisting of General Perrott, C.B., and members of the Staff, escorted by H.M.S. *Cadmus*, Commander Heard, had visited the Native States on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and had been received by the sultans and people with every demonstration of loyalty and attachment to the new order of things, and had appreciated the appointment of residents as advisers in their government and the administration of their affairs. At Tringanu the Governor had nominated Mr. Conlay, and at Kelantan Mr. Mason to their respective posts. Upon the west coast of the Peninsula the territory of Kedah was formally taken over by Mr. Maxwell in a similar capacity there, and the ceremony, it is reported, passed off with great brilliancy, and the Sultan was told to expect a special visit from the Governor a little later on.

Thus it is highly satisfactory to find that the policy of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the measures adopted for the transfer of these Native States has been so well received by all the chiefs and people, and, further, that its initiation and introduction has so ably been carried out by the present Governor of the colony.

## THE PRESENT POSITION IN REGARD TO THE CONGO.

By E. D. MOREL.

BELGIAN annexation of the Congo took place in August, 1908. Public opinion in this country accepted not without a certain amount of misgiving the Government policy favouring a Belgian annexation, as one of three possible solutions. But public support was afforded on the ground, and on no other, that annexation would mean, not at some future date, but simultaneously, a complete change in the policy pursued by the Congo Government.

No responsible person in England asked or expected the Belgian Government to alter in a few months or even in a few years the *effects* of twenty years of purposeful and systematic misrule. But what public opinion did demand was that the essential characteristics of the *policy* pursued and applied in the Congo would disappear with the disappearance of the Congo Free State. Or, in other words, that the Congo should cease to be pillaged, and begin to be administered. That the Congo should cease to be a closed door for the whole world, and that freedom of commerce should be introduced. That the administrative machine should cease to support itself by the proceeds of slave labour, which should be replaced by normal rule founded upon equitable taxation and customs dues on trade. No visits to the Congo of royal personages and Colonial Ministers were required to bring about these changes.

It was because public opinion felt assured that these changes would be rendered ten times more difficult if Belgian annexation were allowed to go through on the old lines—*i.e.*, ensuring the perpetuation of the old system, that the Congo Reform Association and a great number of influential persons outside its ranks, together with the bulk

of the Press, urged the British Government to lay down definitely the changes it required if an annexation by Belgium were to prove acceptable to Britain, *before the Belgian Government had committed itself too far on the road to an illusory annexation.*

We urged this for other reasons also, chief among them, that if Belgium were allowed to annex on unsatisfactory terms an agitation directed hitherto against an irresponsible autocrat would, of necessity, become an agitation against the Belgian Government, which would add enormously to the difficulties of the situation.

That the British Government could have prevented, at a given moment, an unsatisfactory annexation has not been and cannot be denied.

The British Government failed, however, to take advantage of the opportunity offered, and annexation went through on terms ensuring the maintenance of the conception that the natural produce of the Congo belongs to the Belgian Government and to its concessionnaires, that the natives have no right to trade in it with the outer world ; but are required to collect it and bring it in to the officials of the Government as tribute. This conception can, of course, only be enforced by the use of coercion as the recognized medium for obtaining the fruits of the soil of tropical Africa without paying for them, which a trade system, on the other hand, necessitates. In other words, the system is a slave system.

The consequence is that the situation to-day is this. Over a year has elapsed since Belgium annexed the Congo or rather since the present Belgian Government annexed the Congo in the face of the strenuous protests of a substantial minority in the Belgian Parliament. The Leopoldian system remains. The Belgian Government is carrying out exactly the same policy of pillage and monopoly. The native of the Congo has no rights in land, in the fruits of his land, or in the freedom of his own labour. The British Government has declined to recognize the

validity of the act of annexation, but so far as practical results arise from that refusal, *unaccompanied by action of any other kind*—well, the Belgian Government is simply laughing at us.

Sir Edward Grey has stated that he will wait until the Belgian Colonial Minister returns from the Congo. If this announcement stood alone, there would not be much fault to find with it. But, framed in its attendant circumstances, preceded as it has been by six years' diplomatic effort on the part of this country, by an increasing defiance in the Belgian notes, by breach of faith after breach of faith, by speech after speech on the part of Belgian Ministers, announcing their determination to abide by the principles of the existing system, and denying our right to interfere—the Foreign Office cannot expect that a continuation of the policy of waiting can give satisfaction to public opinion.

That the country is not satisfied, but very much the reverse; that men of every party and men differing in religious views and general outlook are incensed and irritated by a humiliating and, indeed, impossible position, is becoming clearer every day. Public demonstrations are in course of preparation all over the country, and, as has been announced already, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with the Nonconformist leaders, has agreed to take the chair at a demonstration of the religious forces of the metropolis at the Queen's Hall in November. The Archbishop of York is taking the chair at a great meeting to be held in Liverpool on November 24. (See note.)

I find that an impression prevails in some quarters that Germany would oppose action by ourselves, alone or in conjunction with the United States, to bring the Belgian Government to reason. I believe this impression, which the Foreign Office has certainly done nothing to prevent being formed, is altogether erroneous. I am not in the least surprised that German statesmen should look upon the action of the Foreign Office in regard to the Congo with some suspicion. It is unreasonable for us to expect that Germany

can have forgotten the Anglo-Congolese convention of 1894 when this country sought to use the Congo Free State for its own political advantage against what Germany regarded as her interests in Central Africa. Properly handled from this end, I believe that the Congo question might form an excellent opportunity for an improvement in Anglo-German relations—an improvement which every sane man must desire. There seems to me to be urgent need for the British public to have the whole story of the British official attitude towards the Congo for the last fourteen years placed before it. I am convinced, for my part, that this ought to be done. A whole chapter of the Congo tragedy—the part that is played by French diplomacy—is virtually unknown to the British citizen. It is time that the veil was pulled aside.

I look upon the attitude which the British nation may eventually take on this question as a test of the national character, and so far as my feeble efforts are concerned, I shall do my best in the coming autumn and winter months to place the problem in all its bearings before the public.

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NOTE.—It is announced that "the Archbishop of York will take the chair at a demonstration on the Congo question to be held at the Central Hall, Liverpool, on November 24. There will also be present the Bishop of Liverpool, Archdeacon Madden, the Rector of Liverpool, the Nonconformist ministers of the City, Sir Edward Russell and Mr. Alexander Gutherie. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Mr. G. D. Morel will be among the speakers."—ED.

## HOW THE JAPANESE CATCH WHALES.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

JAPANESE peasants are very superstitious about the whale—its appearance off shore augurs happiness and good fortune. When one approaches near enough to be attacked, a scene of great animation and excitement ensues. As soon as the marine monster is visible, a cry of mingled voices rends the air, and the burden of that cry is : “Joy! joy! joy! to seven villages; joy to seven villages! A whale in sight.”

These harbingers of happiness are often “wrecked” by typhoons, or hot wind storms, very prevalent at certain times of the year, along the Japanese coast. Young whales are constantly disabled by these storms, and, once sighted, they have little chance of escape. The sea is soon alive with boats and junks of various sizes, and showers of small sharp knives and arrows are successfully thrown by the pursuers. In a very short time the life-blood of the great cetacean dyes the waves. Men wade breast deep into the water; even women and children imperil their lives to seize and rethrow any deadly weapon cast back upon the beach. When the whale is reached, long coils of rope are passed from boat to boat until the prey is secured; then comes a lull while all hands patiently await the help of the returning tide to assist the landing. When this is accomplished, the crowd deepens, the excitement intensifies, for upon each weapon is engraved the name of the owner, and the spoil is only divided between those who have dexterously struck the victim. Then, panting, smarting, dying, the huge beast is laid upon its bier of serf and shingle, and the most elderly man, establishing himself in a conspicuous position, springs upon the whale, invites others to join him, and the process of division takes place. Huge pieces

of oily, bleeding flesh are cut away by the dividers, whilst the assistants draw the arrows one by one, shouting out the fortunate names engraven upon them.

A rush and a parting is made in the throng, and swarthy arms are extended to catch the prizes as they fall to each man's lot. Perfect order prevails, and the murmur still runs round : "Joy to seven villages—joy! good luck! good fortune!" The process of division often lasts till the sun goes down, flushing the reddened waves a deeper red ; and the aged peasant is lost to sight in the bulk of spoil, wearied with unusual labour, while still the outer crowd presses nearer and nearer in breathless suspense as the chances of a portion grow less and less.

The sperm-whale, *Physeter macrocephalus*, is often captured off the Japanese coast. A full-grown male measures from fifty-five to sixty feet, though the female does not attain more than half that length. The general colour of this kind of whale is black above and white or grey below, the colouring graduating from one to the other.

Another species of whale is fairly common on the coast ; this is hunted chiefly for the whalebone. The name of this species is *Balaena mysticetus* ; it is the Greenland or Arctic whale.

The sperm-whale yields a quantity of oil, which is obtained from the blubber or fat when boiled. This oil is skimmed off as it rises to the top of the boiling-pot. It is a valuable export of Japan, as well as being much in requisition among the poorer classes, who always burn a lamp at night supplied with fish-oil, the richer inhabitants using candles of vegetable wax for this purpose. The sediment of the oil that is deposited at the bottom of the boiling-pot is eagerly utilized for food, as well as the flesh, the Japanese being extremely fond of all nourishing substances obtained from the sea, including certain kinds of seaweed. The flesh of the whale, as well as that of the herring, is appropriated for land manure, both possessing valuable fertilizing properties. Whalebone is also adapted,

with other materials, for all kinds of toys, which are extensively made in the Land of Sunrise.

The sperm-whale was the innocent factor of opening the gates of Japan. Through the timely and clever diplomacy of Commodore Perry, the advisability of granting refuge to American whalers was pointed out to the Japanese. The advantages gained by sympathy and friendliness was productive of good results for the future to both nations. The shelter so suspiciously and grudgingly given in olden times became, in course of events, the medium of friendly negotiations between Japan and other Powers.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, July 15, 1909, a paper was read by S. H. Fremantle, Esq., I.C.S., on "The Progress of Co-operative Credit Societies in Northern India," Sir Thomas W. Holderness in the chair. The following, among others, were present : Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, Mr. A. F. Fremantle, Mrs. Fremantle, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Major Bruce, Mr. M. C. Mallik, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Palmer, Mr. J. H. W. Arathoon, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. J. Pearis, Mr. D. S. Kalé, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Malcolm Seton, Mr. G. K. Narayana, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. Colvin, Miss McLaren, Mr. W. H. Brown, Mr. Bhattacharya, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. S. Mitter, Mr. F. P. Marchant.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, I have to introduce to you Mr. Fremantle, who proposes to read a paper on "The Progress of Co-operative Credit Societies in Northern India." I need not say he is an expert. He has been Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the United Provinces himself, and as one grain of fact is worth an ounce of theory, we shall, I am sure, be very interested in his paper.

Mr. Fremantle then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel sure that you will all agree with me in congratulating Mr. Fremantle on his most interesting paper. The subject is one of immense practical importance to India, and he is undoubtedly right in commending it to all whose privilege it will be to minister in one way or another to the community in that country. The indebtedness of the Indian agriculturist, the high rates of interest which he has to pay for accommodation, the insufficiency of loanable capital in rural districts, are familiar themes. They were present to me when I commenced my Indian service, and during my whole service they were, more or less, forced on my attention. I remember that, in my very early days, I had to try to promote a very rudimentary State Bank, which the Government was anxious to found. I explained the advantages as best I could to the villagers, and asked them to deal with the bank. They all hung back for some time, and at last, seeing that something had to be done, they produced a very poverty-stricken person, and said that perhaps he might be willing to take a loan from it, because he was very poor and without credit. At that time the principle of co-operative credit had not become a living reality. About twelve years ago it began to be talked about in India as a possible solution of the difficulty. Sir Frederick Nicholson, in Madras, and Mr. Dupernex, in the United Provinces, took up the subject. They did invaluable service. They investigated the various forms of co-operative banking and co-operative credit in Germany,

Italy and elsewhere, and they showed how these results might be best adapted to the conditions of Indian society. One of the most interesting points in Sir Frederick Nicholson's investigations was the discovery of the extent to which joint association already existed as a working principle in the numerous benefit societies of the Madras Presidency. It was a hopeful omen. It showed that the co-operative spirit in money affairs already existed in embryo in the country, and that it might be counted on to accomplish greater things under favourable circumstances. The next stage, if I remember right, was the establishment of some co-operative credit societies in the United Provinces through the instrumentality of Mr. Dupernex, and under the fostering guidance of Sir Antony MacDonnell, whom we now know better under the title of Lord MacDonnell. These experimental societies, as Mr. Fremantle has told us, largely relied on the generosity and the enthusiasm of wealthy individuals who provided the necessary funds. They were more or less one-man shows, and they required a good deal of altruistic benevolence and detailed guidance. Here my personal knowledge of the subject in India stops. I gather from Mr. Fremantle's paper that these banks, so far as they have been continued, have had to be very extensively reorganized. I do not consider that that is any censure upon them. They were pioneer institutions. They had inevitably certain defects. They have shown where improvement was possible, and what the latent possibilities were. We owe a debt of gratitude to the pioneers of what I may say is a really remarkable movement. The next stage was the enactment of the law of 1904 by the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Co-operative Credit Societies Act of that year is the charter and legal basis of the societies which Mr. Fremantle has described. I shall not weary you with the details of that measure, but I would like to say this much about it. In its breadth, its elasticity and flexibility, it is a very remarkable measure. It was largely due to the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, and I should like his memory to be permanently associated with one of the most beneficent measures on the Indian Statute Book. The Government of India are often accused of wishing to centralize too much, to run everything throughout India on a uniform pattern. I am not concerned to defend them against the general charge. They are perfectly able to defend themselves. But, in the matter of this particular measure, the accusation would be absolutely incorrect. The Act gives the amplest powers to the local authorities to adapt the principle of co-operative credit to local needs, and to select their own form of institution. The control of the Central Government is thus reduced to a minimum. Mr. Fremantle shows that this wise licence of action has been fully taken advantage of by different provincial Governments. In Bengal, for instance, you find that the Societies are all organized on the strictest principles of unlimited liability. There is no share capital and no dividends. The members of such a Society pledge their joint credit, and on the strength of this they obtain capital from depositors, which they lend amongst themselves. It is simply a Society for the purpose of obtaining money on easy terms. Then, in the Punjab you have a system of share capital, but the shares are only paid up by instalments, and they carry no dividends for ten years. In the

United Provinces, in Burmah, and elsewhere, you have different systems. In each Province the system in force has its own advocates, who defend it as being the method best suited to local conditions. They agree to differ as to which system is best in the abstract. They wisely say that the whole matter is in the first stage of experiment. They have had to feel their way, and to take the course which they find attracts members to the movement, and makes them interested in its success. For my own part, I am inclined to think that diversity of type is an advantage. It seems to me that only by such experiments and by discussion of results is the movement likely to become a permanent success. The practical problem is how to attract funds for financing the Societies, and how to manage these funds so that loss will not occur. It is not possible at present to say that this problem has been definitely and satisfactorily solved in every Province. In my judgment, the best chance of its solution is to let different experiments be tried. I refer especially to the important question of central or union banks. The village Societies, it is clear, must find money from outside, if they are to grow and take the place of the money-lender. The Government has wisely set a limit to the amount of help it will give. Some persons think that it is already giving too much. However that may be, the Societies must look elsewhere for their expanding needs. They must, somehow or other, obtain money from a central body. Therefore I am glad to see that, in all Provinces, the problem of the central union or central bank is being attacked in different ways, and that the rural Societies are getting into touch with the outer world. No doubt there are possible dangers and difficulties in this. One authority will say that it should be done in one way, and another authority that it should be done in another. Possibly this matter will be discussed by speakers who follow. It requires expert knowledge to which I do not pretend. Another point which might well be discussed is the question of a large Agricultural Bank. In Egypt large amounts of capital have thus been made available to the agriculturist by a large Agricultural Bank helped by the Government. Is a similar agency required in India? and, if so, what would be the bank's relation to Rural Credit Societies? This is a very large question and it may not be urgent for some time, but, sooner or later, the idea of a large Agricultural Bank on a share basis is certain to arise in India and the principle is worth discussing. In favour of such a bank is the fact that it will bring cheap money to the cultivator in large quantities. It will do more in this way in a year than the small Rural Credit Societies will do in ten. On the other hand, is it desirable to make money very cheap to the peasant? Will it not in the long run increase his troubles? Co-operative Credit Societies may act slowly; they may affect only the *élite*, so to say, of the cultivators in one particular village, but within the sphere of their influence they have, as Mr. Fremantle said, an educative and moral effect, to which a bank run on commercial lines has no pretence. These seem to me to be the pros and cons of a matter which is certain to be heard of some day in India. I commend it to your consideration as a useful subject for discussion. I now invite discussion on the paper.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said he thought the Society ought to be very

much obliged both to the Chairman for presiding and opening the discussion and to Mr. Fremantle for his paper. Mr. Fremantle had said that he was not acquainted with the conditions at Madras or Bombay. The speaker happened to be in Madras some years ago when Sir Frederick Nicholson was appointed on special duty to study the subject of Co-operative Societies, and, as he always did, he embodied in his report a lot of valuable information. The then Madras Government, of which the speaker was a member, felt that they could not take up the scheme on a large scale without some previous object-lessons, but the report was forwarded to the Indian Government and to the Secretary of State. A committee, of which Sir F. Nicholson was a member appointed by the Government of India, discussed and elaborated the scheme and finally the Co-operative enactment of 1904 was passed. The Chairman had referred to the Co-operative Societies which existed in Madras some time ago, and Sir Frederick Nicholson had inquired into those. He regretted to say that there was a large amount of fraud in connection with some of the earlier Societies, which quite confirmed what the author of the paper had said about the necessity of having Government supervision over the accounts and so on. He quite agreed as to the utility of the Societies and in Mr. Fremantle's remark that "The Indian students have no better way of indulging their feelings of loyalty to their native land than by supporting institutions which stimulate industry and thrift and develop independence of character and public spirit."

MR. CHATTERJEE congratulated the author of the paper on the very lucid way in which he had explained the principles and methods of Co-operative Societies in different parts of India. He did not think Mr. Fremantle had alluded to the position of the money-lender class in reference to these banks. For some time money-lenders had been the most abused persons in India, but recently there had been a tendency towards a better appreciation of their position. Mr. Morrison had, in his book on the Industrial Organization of the United Provinces, very clearly explained the economic functions performed by the money-lenders in the village system. As the Chairman had pointed out, and the writer of the paper had also devoted considerable attention to the subject, the financing of the rural Societies was one of the most important questions connected with their development. All the world over, agricultural communities had to seek outside help for capital, and very little capital could in the near future be expected to be raised in India from the savings of the agriculturists themselves. Mr. Chatterjee thought it would be a very desirable thing if the money-lending class could be made to co-operate in the development of these rural societies. He did not consider this would be quite impossible, for the present lot of the money-lender is not without its difficulties, and if full allowance were made for all the losses of money-lenders the interest earned by them was not as high as it is popularly supposed to be. Mr. Chatterjee had discussed the subject with several money-lenders in the districts where he had served, and had noticed that some of them would be willing to join Co-operative Banks. He would like Mr. Fremantle to tell them if such actual co-operation had already come about anywhere. Mr. Chatterjee

also thought that a solution of the financial problem would probably be found in the system of town banks that was being developed in the United Provinces. The country was passing through rapid economic changes, and the banking system was in urgent need of reorganization. The urban population in India were undoubtedly earning more money than formerly, but at present thrift was backward for want of any ready means of investment. The large Joint Stock Banks did not fulfil all the requirements of this class, nor were they yet in intimate touch with the Rural Co-operative Societies. The town bank will act as a link between the large bank and the village society, will attract the savings of the various classes of urban population and will give a great stimulus to industrial enterprise. Mr. Chatterjee did not think the establishment of a Central Agricultural Bank for the whole of India at present necessary or desirable. He would like to see the Co-operative idea sink deeper into the hearts of the people at first and he was afraid that the financing of rural Societies from one central organization would have at this stage as disastrous effects as if the Government advanced all the money. Mr. Chatterjee agreed with the author in thinking that the progress of Co-operative Societies would help the progress of the people in many different ways. For instance, sanitary reform in India was mainly a question of co-operation among the people. If the villagers learned to co-operate in order to obtain credit, they would soon learn to co-operate to secure effective sanitation for the village. Mr. Chatterjee therefore thought that an Indian could hardly serve his country better than by furthering the progress of Co-operative Societies.

MR. WHITWORTH said there was one point upon which some further explanation seemed desirable, and that was as to the position of the existing money-lender and the possible use that might be made of him. According to the descriptions given of the different classes of these Co-operative Societies, the chief difficulty seemed to be the lack of capital. In some cases Government assistance was relied upon, and in one case contributors of capital were not to receive any dividend for ten years. They could not expect to go very far upon such lines. Meanwhile, there was the existing money-lender with his capital ready. They spoke of "driving him from the field," but would it not be more to the purpose to attract his capital, and possibly his skill and local information also?

MR. K. CHOWDRY, of Calcutta, said that the money-lenders in the United Provinces might not earn more than 8 per cent., but the Bengal usurers will not charge less than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for loans made for at least six months. The Indian money-lenders are usually painted as villains and bloodsuckers, but they have got to make a living as well as a lawyer, who mulcts the ignorant ryot just as much. He thought that the money-lenders' demand might be limited by legislation. It is a pity that the poor ryots are not sufficiently induced to take advantage of the Government system of loan, which the collectors are authorized to grant at such low rate of interest as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The ryot's ways are always beset with various difficulties. The other day a Benares ryot complained to a peregrinating M.P. that the District head-clerk would not recommend a loan unless he was paid a large share of it. The Indian system of administration is, on the whole,

satisfactory, but every care ought to be taken that the existing regulations are properly enforced.

MR. COLVIN remarked that in Germany the Raffeisen Banks had made an extraordinary success, and had freed the German peasant from the grasping money-lender. He said that the Raffeisen Banks began in little villages, and that they were gradually formed into circles and became automatically central banks.

MR. FREMANTLE, after further discussion, in reply, said: I would like first to answer the questions that Mr. Colvin asked. He says that in Raffeisen Societies loans are only given for productive purposes. We started in India with the idea of slavishly following Raffeisen, but we were obliged to give it up, and the principle on which loans are now given is that if they are not for productive purposes they must induce a saving; that is to say, if a man has to borrow, if, for instance, he has to have his daughter married, and it is necessary, according to the custom of the country, that he should have money for this purpose, it is best that he should come to us to get it. If we do not lend him that money, he will have to go round the corner to the money-lender. But our principle is to take the place of the money-lender, and we cannot do that unless we lend money for every necessary purpose. It is very much better that we should, because, supposing he goes to the money-lender for his money, he will probably get a great deal more than will be sanctioned by his Society, or a committee of his own people, who will say, "What do you mean by wanting to spend 200 rupees in this way; your status is not sufficient for it; 100 will be quite enough," and they will allow that 100 rupees, and he will repay in due course of time. That is the principle that has now been accepted throughout India: that loans should be advanced for every necessary purpose. If they are not directly productive, they still mean a saving. As to the Budaun Bank, I thought I had explained its constitution. I said the ordinary shares in the Budaun Bank are held by the small Societies scattered about the district. All the ordinary shares are held by them, so that, eventually, it is they alone who will own the bank. It is true that preference shares, which carry a fixed dividend and debentures, are also issued to the general public, but the ordinary shares are all held by the Societies. Mr. Whitworth wanted to know how the Societies could get their capital if they did not have recourse to the money-lenders. There are various ways in which the Societies get their capital. In Bengal and Burma, and in the United Provinces, the Registrar has received permission from the Government to advertise in the newspapers for deposits from the general public. A rate of interest of 8 or 9 per cent. is given to the depositor, and he is given the bond of the individual Society, which takes the loan. The Government does not guarantee anything at all, but the Registrar simply advises the depositor that such and such a Society is properly managed, and is a satisfactory Society for investment. On hearing this, the depositor makes the loan at a rate of interest which, of course, would be considered very high in England, but as he has no guarantee from the Government, the Societies are obliged to pay that rate of interest. Much of the money in the Societies of Burma and Bengal

and in the United Provinces, is now obtained in that way, and the amount is increasing every day. By that means we avoid having to go to the money-lender, or the Government, or even to a bank. But money-lenders of the better class have advanced money in certain Societies, and since the rate of interest has been raised they have advanced a great deal more money. For instance, in a Society I visited last year there were two money-lenders who were willing to make advances at the rate of 10 per cent., and it paid the Society to take it at that rate. We hope in course of time that the village money-lenders will come into the movement. Instead of making these advances to individuals at high rates of interest and with only very moderate hopes of recovering them, they may make advances to the Societies at reasonable rates of interest and with ample security. That is the ultimate aim. At present they are not satisfied as a rule with the rate of interest that we are willing to give, which is 10 per cent. generally, and as the whole field is not occupied by us they go on making their own advances at high rates of interest, with the hope that they will recover them: but they very often do not. Then, as to the Agricultural Bank which Sir Arundel Arundel and the Chairman have mentioned. Sir Frederick Nicholson's proposal was to have a large institution which would not only finance the Co-operative Credit Societies themselves, but also make loans to independent cultivators. We did not think that that would work, because every cultivator would rather borrow from the Agricultural Bank than from the Societies, because he would get loans at a lower rate of interest, and without liability for other people's debts, and we thought it would interfere with the development of the Societies. But there are other very great disadvantages in an Agricultural Bank. No large institution of that kind could be worked in India without the active assistance of the Government. The people would consider that the money came direct from the Government, and would treat it as Government money. There would be all the same difficulties as there are now with "takávi." We have been told by Mr. Chowdry that when advances were made, a certain amount was retained and kept as a bribe. That is a well-known fact, but, if the administration of the district is good, the share will be small, and if the administration of the district is bad, the share would be larger. There will always be some share; it is the custom of the country and cannot be avoided. The same thing would happen in an Agricultural Bank. The total sum sanctioned by somebody at Simla or Lucknow, or even at the headquarters of the district would not reach the individual cultivator. On the other hand, when the loans are made in his own village he will get the whole sum. Then again, with an Agricultural Bank there is absolutely no restriction on the use of money, and no inquiry to show that the money has been properly utilized. Thus the chief object of a Co-operative Society is not attained, and my own opinion, after having considered the subject now very continuously during the two to three years that the question has been raised before us, and having discussed the matter with my brother Registrars and other people who have similar means of knowledge on the subject, is that an Agricultural Bank on the lines of the Bank of Egypt would do a very great deal of harm. It would flood the country with

enormous sums of money, which the people do not properly know how to use. It would make them indebted, and, as I said in my paper, I do not see that it does a man any good to owe 1,000 rupees at 12½ per cent., because he is just as badly off as if he owes 500 rupees at 25 per cent. Therefore, the mere provision of cheap money without the checks which co-operative institutions bring with them would, in my opinion, do absolute harm and I very much hope that nothing of the kind will be sanctioned. Co-operative Credit Societies, as I have shown, are making enormous strides and they are stopped by nothing except the difficulties of organization. Once you have solved those difficulties, the Societies can be formed at the rate of thousands in each Province during the year, and it is very much easier to solve this problem than to devise an Agricultural Bank for a Province and work it in a satisfactory manner.

Hearty votes of thanks to the lecturer for his paper, and to the Chairman for having presided at the meeting, terminated the proceedings.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

SIR,

Lest anyone should suppose that the cause of rational Free Trade has been utterly routed by Sir Roper Lethbridge in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for April and July, I should like to say a few words from the point of view of a reasonable Unionist Free Trader with special reference to these articles. And, to begin with, I may observe that I am by no means what Sir Roper stigmatizes sometimes as merely "orthodox," and sometimes as "ancient and fish-like"; nor does it seem to me of much importance now what Mr. Cobden thought sixty years ago, or how many mistakes he made in prophesying. All we are concerned with now is to find out what is best for us as things are, and I am quite prepared to admit that it *might* be advantageous for India (as it is certainly her wish) to adopt the whole hog of Protection, *especially against Lancashire*. What I cannot believe is that Sir Roper's treatment by Preferential duties would have any useful effect, though it would no doubt stir up more strife amongst nations than we have already. And that, in my opinion, is the most certain result of this Imperialism of which Sir Roper is so much enamoured. It *makes for war* as certainly as Free Trade amongst all nations would make for peace.

I cannot put my case more clearly than certain Free Traders in the U.S.A. have lately put it in a manifesto addressed to the citizens of the United States on July 5 last, and will therefore quote what they say in full (the italics are mine):

## TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The apparent acceptance in some degree of the so-called Protective policy by the present Congressional representatives of both political parties—the Republicans champion-

ing Protection with incidental revenue, and the Democrats urging revenue with incidental Protection—might beget the impression that our nation contains no men who believe in *the absolute and unconditioned freedom of trade between the peoples of the earth.*

The undersigned, proclaiming themselves as Free-Traders, contend :

1. That Protection erects artificial barriers between nations, preventing that natural and healthful interchange of products which makes for increased comfort, for peace and for the solidarity of mankind.
2. That Protection, by reducing the quantity of incoming foreign goods, reduces the buying-power represented by such goods, and consequently subtracts from the demand for merchandise and labour which would inevitably be fostered by the unrestricted freedom of exchange.
3. That Protection, in addition to lessening the demand for labour, and to a consequent reduction of wages, greatly increases the cost of necessaries, thus becoming a powerful agent in dragging down the condition of our wage-earning classes.
4. That Protection has not only become the Mother of Trusts, but that, by stifling foreign competition, it has granted them a licence to prey upon the community.
5. That Protection encourages extravagance in national expenditure, which, as it is paid by taxes on what the people consume, is in the main extracted from the pockets of the wage-earning and salaried classes.
6. That Protection, by its methods of indirect taxation, cunningly disguises the incidence of taxation, and thus weakens that desirable interest in legislation and in government policies which direct taxation tends to develop.
7. That Protection, which is in effect *a process of class enrichment by legislative favour*, is a festering source of political corruption.
8. That Protection, by engendering special over-production due to excessive profits, and wide-spread under-

consumption due to excessive prices, contributes to producing those panics which cause so much human waste and misery.\*

9. That Protection, by conferring on favoured classes the right to tax their fellow-citizens, and by the consequent unequal and inequitable distribution of the boundless wealth which is created by the energy and natural resources possessed by the American people, has generated resentments which express themselves by dangerous methods intended to wrench from its possessors a portion of the wealth which has been unjustly appropriated.

10. That Protection, by the swollen fortunes which it heaps up for its beneficiaries, and by the concentrated, selfish class interests which it fosters, becomes so powerful through their ability and readiness to debauch public opinion by the expenditure of money, that it can never be dislodged until the great body of our people are brought to realize its wasteful, sinful, anti-social character.

Concurring in such views, the undersigned call on all fellow-citizens who are in agreement therewith to join them in an effort to consolidate the Free Trade sentiment of the nation. Such a consolidation will reveal the true economic opinion of at least a portion of our citizens, and will facilitate co-operation with the Free Traders of other nations which are also suffering from the evils of a Protective policy.

Names and addresses should be forwarded without delay to any of the undersigned :

JOHN BIGELOW.

BYRON W. HOLT.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

JAMES H. DILLARD.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

LOUIS H. EHRICH.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

LOUIS F. POST.

BOLTON HALL.

WILLIAM G. SUMNER.

CHARLES D. WILLIAMS.

July 5, 1909.

\* Hence America is the birthplace of panics.

Let us look at the question as one of morals. As the late Theodor Barth said, "An international league of Protectionists is a contradiction in terms." Which, then, of the two is the morally good cause?

Before going farther, we may just note that some of Sir Roper's arguments are very curious. He says on pp. 4 and 5 of his second article (*Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July) that "whatever fiscal changes may be made under Imperial Preference . . . they must always be in the direction of Free Trade—the abolition, or at least mitigation, of any existing mutual taxation within the Empire"; whilst Mr. Chamberlain (of whose letter he speaks with so much respect) suggests fresh duties on Indian wheat and indigo. The "mitigation," or even "abolition," of a tax *newly imposed* would hardly afford much consolation to the harassed exporter.

The argument of these American gentlemen, who have had an experience of Protection which we for two generations have not had in England, seems conclusive enough as between Free Trade and Protection in the abstract; and, to do him justice, Sir Roper does not deny that Free Trade amongst all nations would be best for all—but the modern Protectionist, who rather disingenuously conceals himself behind the mask of "Tariff Reform," argues that by "retaliation" or, in other words, holding a pistol at the head of our rivals in trade (as Lord Lansdowne puts it), we could exact better terms from them, or, at any rate, foster the industries of our own country, and so provide more regular employment for our own workers. Surely this means that by reducing the area of work you would increase its quantity. But it depends on the size of a country (or Empire) whether it can live on its own resources, and a country that has to import three-fourths of its food from abroad is in a very difficult position. With a country like India, which is self-supporting, it is different; and it is not so difficult to believe that India might do better for herself by using up her own material resources.

within her own borders; but that, as Sir Roper sees, would mean Home Rule for India, and probably the break-up of the British Empire, involving India also in, perhaps, irreparable ruin.

Moreover, if Protection is so disastrous, as it evidently is on the whole, to a large and self-supporting country like America, it is not at all unlikely that it would be equally bad for India. For surely it is impossible that artificial restraints on trade can increase trade. As Mr. Runciman said the other day: "No taxation ever increased the total amount of work"; how could it? "Taxes or duties tend to make things dearer, and you cannot increase the demand for things by making them dearer." That seems obvious enough.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

#### THE CHINESE "TAXI-CAB."

SIR,

As someone in Cambridge (presumably Professor Giles himself) has sent me without remark a copy of his letter to you published in the July issue, I presume that the bellicose *littérateur* in question expects an answer from me. As there never was a taxi-cab in China (or anything at all approaching one, except what I carefully and historically describe on pp. 380-387 of your April issue), naturally Chalmers, Chavannes, and Hirth make no allusion to it. Dr. Hirth, however, writes to me from New York on April 7 last: "Of course, I was fully cognizant of it" (*i.e.*, of the huge military drum-cart, used only in Imperial processions, with wheels ten feet in diameter, carrying thirty soldiers, and drawn by four horses), "though I had no reason to refer to it in an account of the magnetic needle" (which is mentioned in one line, and in one unbroken sentence, with and directly after it in chap. cxlix., p. 15, of the *Sung-shi*, quoted by Dr. Hirth, as though the two were parts of one thing). I have already given you the whole existing "learning" on the subject, and if Professor Giles, by a display of his literary agility in dancing round

the real question, can induce the public in the face of the evidence and full references I produce to accord him a literary triumph, he is welcome to *savourer* and enjoy it. In my deliberate opinion, his "unearthing during the course of his researches," and, indeed, his "taxi-cab" itself as well, are both pure figments of his active imagination, and are (as the Chinese say) "very near to" the cheapest newspaper clap-trap. The reason I specifically mentioned this "drum-cart recording distances" (Mr. Giles's supposed taxi-cab) by name in 1906, and said that it was thus *not* the same as the compass-cart, was precisely because all Chinese accounts mentioned the two carts together, as though they were mere varieties of the same thing; and because the Chinese, Dr. Edkins, Dr. Chalmers, etc., had all thought them the same thing when, many years ago, they "unearthed" the *Sung-shi* chapter in question. I repeat, however, the public owes Professor Hopkinson a debt for testing the cog-wheel apparatus from a mechanical point of view; but the proportions are utterly wrong.

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. H. PARKER.

### THE OPIUM QUESTION.

SIR,

With reference to the article on the Opium Question in your *Review* for July, it is worthy of notice that eating opium in small quantities is very common in all malarious districts in Western India as a prophylactic against malaria, without any deleterious effects on the population.

I am, etc., A. ROGERS (*Late Bombay C.S.*).

September 1, 1909.

### ENTOMOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN AFRICA.

THE Government, having had its attention drawn to the effect of certain insects propagating diseases both to man and beast, have appointed a Committee, to be called the

African Entomological Research Committee, of which Lord Cromer has consented to act as chairman. It will be composed of a large number of scientific men who have directed their attention to this subject. Arrangements are already made to send a trained entomologist to the east and west of tropical Africa to stimulate official and other residents, to collect and observe noxious insects, and to afford instruction in the use of scientific methods. By this means it is hoped to organize a body of investigators who will communicate their collections and observations to the Committee. The Committee will be also in touch with similar work in Egypt, the Sudan, and South Africa. The result of their research will be published from time to time in a journal or bulletin to be issued by the Committee.

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AN INDIAN GRIEVANCE: FLOGGING FOR PRISON  
OFFENCES IN INDIA.

SIR,

In our recent correspondence with the India Office respecting the alleged increase of flogging for breaches of discipline in Indian gaols, Lord Morley informed us that the facts were officially admitted, but neither in Lord Morley's letter nor in the previous reply of the Master of Elibank to Sir Henry Cotton's question on the same subject is there any indication as to what cause the increase is due.

In his reply to Sir Henry Cotton, the Master of Elibank went on to say (1) that flogging is very sparingly used as a gaol punishment in India, and (2) is reserved, as in this country, for the most serious offences. As to the first of these assertions, reports show that in the Madras Presidency alone corporal punishment for prison offences has risen from nineteen cases to forty in twelve months. This serious state of affairs was brought before the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George by the Right Hon. Kevase Pillai, and was not denied by the authorities. Secondly, the more serious offences are due apparently to

the overcrowded state of the Indian gaols ; and the rest of the floggings were mostly inflicted for nothing more serious than inability on the part of the prisoners to turn out sufficient work according to the official requirements. Moreover, in some of the Burmese gaols the flogging of untried prisoners is perfectly legal and far from uncommon, and several judicial sentences have been reversed after the lash has been inflicted.

It is misleading to say that in this country flogging is reserved for the most serious offences. Quite recently I called attention to the case of a convict at Princetown who was flogged for throwing an eight-ounce bread-loaf at a prison warder ; and if by "this country" the Master of Elibank (who represents a constituency north of the Tweed) includes Scotland, then I may be forgiven for calling attention to a common fact which he has overlooked, viz., that flogging for prison offences is absolutely forbidden in Scottish local prisons.

I am, yours faithfully,

JOSEPH COLLINSON.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, LONDON.

The following is a copy of the correspondence which has taken place between the Humanitarian League (Indian Committee) and the Secretary of State for India :

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, 53, CHANCERY LANE, W.C.  
May 25, 1909.

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT MORLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.—MY LORD,—I am desired by my Committee to express their thanks for the prompt action you have taken for mitigating the severity and restricting the practice of corporal punishment under the Indian Whipping Act. At the same time, may I bring to your notice that a serious increase of flogging for prison offences is reported, which seems to demand the immediate attention of the India Office.—I remain, my Lord, yours faithfully, JOSEPH COLLINSON.

WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W.  
July 14, 1909.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 25, 1909, in which you draw Viscount Morley's attention to a report that there has been a serious increase of flogging for prison offences in

India. In reply, I am to say that the latest statistics so far received in this office (which relate to the year 1907 for most of the Indian provinces, and to 1908 for three only) do not lead His Lordship to conclude that there has been any increase in the number of such punishments which has not been duly noted and considered by the authorities in India.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, COLIN G. CAMPBELL.

JOSEPH COLLINSON, Esq.,  
Humanitarian League.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, 53, CHANCERY LANE, W.C.,  
*July 23.*

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT MORLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.—MY LORD,—I beg to thank you for your letter, and am desired to express the hope of my Committee that, in view of the official admission concerning the increase of flogging for breaches of prison discipline which, as we believe, is due in some instances to overcrowding, and in others to the fact of the prisoners not turning out sufficient work, you will urge upon the Government of India the desirability of using its administrative powers to remedy so grave an evil.—I remain, my Lord, yours faithfully, JOSEPH COLLINSON.

#### THE CHURCHES AND THE CONGO.

The following statement and appeal was drawn up after a representative private conference at Lambeth Palace:

On November 7, 1907, an appeal to the nation was made public, signed by representative leaders of religious and philanthropic thought and action, calling attention afresh to the appalling cruelty and misrule under which the native population on the Congo was suffering, and reminding the English people of its own responsibility in the matter.

A year and eight months have passed since then, and the issue a fortnight ago of the last published Foreign Office paper on the subject shows conclusively how ineffective, so far, have been the endeavours made to bring to an end this almost inexpressible wrong.

The situation which now confronts us is exceedingly grave. It affects not only the dignity and prestige of Great Britain in the councils of the world, but, what is of even greater moment, the honour and the moral character of the nation. Far from showing that there is amendment,

the recent White Book proves beyond question that at this moment a system which involves many of the worst features of African slavery, or even exceeds it in horror, is prevailing throughout a territory of nearly 1,000,000 square miles.

The British and American peoples have the greatest measure of responsibility for placing that territory under the authority which has governed it for a quarter of a century. That responsibility we cannot evade. There is nothing accidental about the evil deeds now being committed there. They are the necessary accompaniment of a deliberate claim on the part of the European rulers of that great country to its natural wealth and its human labour, and the claim is enforced with pitiless severity. Virtually the whole land has been monopolized for the benefit of European investors, and the native inhabitants are excluded from any share in the benefits accruing from the exploitation of their soil. Men, and even women, are forced into a life of endless and unpaid toil, to which death alone brings release. Inhuman punishments prevail. Disease and famine, following naturally in the wake of tyranny and violence, are sweeping whole districts bare of inhabitants. And for all this Great Britain (however unintentionally it came about) is in part responsible.

Twenty-five years ago we sanctioned the formation of the so-called "Congo Free State" on the ground of its being "a humane and benevolent enterprise." We invoked the Divine blessing upon an undertaking which was intended to work for the benefit of the inhabitants of the country. To speak of those hopes as falsified is to use too mild a term. The basin of the Congo is to-day the scene of as cruel a tyranny as exists on earth.

These facts are not open to question. They are admitted by our foremost statesmen, to whatever political party they belong. They are stirring the sympathy and evoking the indignation of the people of the United States not less strongly than in England. American statesmen have joined their remonstrances to our own. We refuse

to believe that diplomacy has come to the end of its resources. . . .

We believe that in the minds of thoughtful and observant men and women, and especially in the minds of those who deliberately desire to be guided by the principles of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, there is a deep and growing sense that things cannot without dishonour be left where they are. The very principles of liberty, for which the British people have contended for a hundred years, are now at stake. If the members of the Christian Churches of the land will make their voices heard, the statesmen, not of England only, must needs listen, and the best instincts of every civilized country will respond. We have been reminded by our foremost official spokesman upon foreign affairs that "British treaty rights and British interests" justify separate action on the part of Britain. . . .

RANDALL CANTAUER.	J. H. SHAKESPEARE, M.A.,
COSMO EBOR.	Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.	
JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.	F. J. LIVERPOOL.
A. F. LONDON.	J. D. JONES, M.A., President Congregational Union of England and Wales.
J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A., D.D., President Wesleyan Conference.	F. OXON.
EDWARD SOUTHWARK.	HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.
ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, M.A., D.D., Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland.	C. SILVESTER HORNE, Chairman-elect Congregational Union of England and Wales.
C. BIRMINGHAM.	G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D.D.
J. MONRO GIBSON, M.A., D.D.	RENDEL HARRIS.
	JAMES HENRY, Moderator Free Church of Scotland.

See also article in this issue titled "The Present Position in Regard to the Congo."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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ALDEN AND CO., LTD., OXFORD.

1. *Indian Dust*, by OTTO ROTHFELD. This is a series of stories of native life, some of which appeared in the *Times of India*, of no small merit. Most of them deal with Rajputana, and show deep insight into the life behind the Purdah. Rajahs, Usurers, Moslems, and co-wives all help to create plots for the stories, and the result is good. The book ends with a eulogy of the poems of the lady who writes under the name of "Laurence Hope."—A. F. S.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS ; EDINBURGH AND  
LONDON.

2. *The Englishwoman in India*, by MAUD DIVER, author of "Captain Desmond, v.c." and "The Great Amulet." This work is admirably written, and printed in excellent type. It is divided into two parts, the first relating to the English woman who goes to India in various capacities, such as maid, wife, mother, hostess, and housekeeper; their contact with Eastern womanhood, women-workers, female medical aid, medical aid and missions, education, art industries, and needle-craft. The second part is composed of an able introduction, and most interesting historical sketches of Indian women in various spheres of life, such as the Pundita Ramabai Sarasvati, Dr. Anandabai Joshee, the Maharani of Kuch Behar, and Cornelia Sorabji.

The work will form a very useful guide to the English women intending to visit or settle in India, and will enable them to appreciate the noble efforts of Indian ladies who are striving to educate and elevate their sisters.

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THE CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD.

3. *The English Factories in India, 1624-29*, by WILLIAM FOSTER. This calendar of documents in the India Office,

etc., continues to give much assistance to the student of Indian history. The six years which it covers were fraught with both good and evil to the English in India. The times were stirring, for they were those of Jahāngir. Māhabat Khan got control of the Mogul Empire for some time, and then when the Emperor died there was the strife for the succession, which only ended when Shah Jahan seized the throne. The Portuguese, too, were active opponents of the English, but the latter, with the help of the Dutch, destroyed their factory at Bombay in 1626. The Dutch had become pre-eminent in the settlements "to the southwards"—that is, in Malaya—but in this period a new settlement was made in Southern India at Annagon in 1626. On the whole the interests of the English prospered, and the accounts of the gradual growth of their influence are both interesting and valuable.—A. F. S.

GEORG AND CO.; GENEVA, 1909.

4. *The Cult of Mussulman Saints in the North of Africa, and especially in Morocco*, by Professor DR. E. MONTEL—a volume in 8vo, with ten illustrations. (Memoir published on the occasion of the jubilee of the University of Geneva.) The author, in a short introduction, points out two facts in close relation with one another which characterize Islamism in North Africa : the cult of saints and the religious confraternities.

The work is divided into two parts. In the first the author explains the cult of saints ; in the second, the legends of saints.

The origins of the cult of saints are varied. There are general causes. These are : inherited superstitions from the primitive paganism of the Berbers, fanaticism, influence of asceticism, and the foundation of religious orders. There are, moreover, special and local causes : illustrious birth, Sherifian descent, the qualification of renegade (very strange !), or the son of a renegade.

The author examines successively the names given to the saints, the great number of saints, the unknown saints, the female saints, the saints common among Mussulmans, Jews, and among Christians, the hierarchy of saints, their gift of miracles, the adoration of saints, and the protestations that this adoration has provoked, the continency and the non-continency of saints, their political and social rôle.

In the second part of the book the author relates legends of saints, some of which have an extraordinary charm. He carefully sets out the analogies which present themselves in the worship of saints in Islamism and that in Catholicism, where there is a curious similarity.

The work concludes with two additional notes of great interest on two high religious personages, at present actually existing, of a radically opposed influence, the famous Mâ-el-'Aïnîn, the fanatic marabout whose reputation and anti-French action extends from Adrâr to Morocco, and the celebrated Sheikh Sidiâ of Butilimit (Senegal), devoted, on the contrary, to the French cause.

There are also superb illustrations, from photographs by the author and by his son—an officer in the French army during the expedition of Morocco—showing the characteristic types of the tombs of saints and the mosques in the North of Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Egypt). This able work is of extreme importance to all those who are interested in religious research.

E. GUilmoto; PARIS.

5. *Folk-lore Chinois Moderne*, by Rev. L. WIEGER, S.J., of Hien-hien (province of Chih-Li). This admirable little book will be of the greatest service in the "advanced" section of the Chinese classes which are now becoming so numerous at the various British, American, and European universities. No doubt Père Wieger has done well in choosing an untranslatable English word for his title; but by what process "lore" becomes masculine in French (and,

having once become so, how other Frenchmen get to know it) is rather a puzzle. Of course, the corresponding German word *Lehre* is feminine; but *le soleil*, *Die Sonne*, are only two out of hundreds of other examples showing that French and German writers do not always see eye to eye in these matters. *Légendes* is, presumably, the best pure French equivalent for "Folk-lore."

"Old woman's religion" would not be a bad way of describing the various amusing tales Père Wieger has dug out for us from various Chinese jest-books, story-books, fox-myths, and popular "books of wonders" generally. The present collection (*de Superioris regularis Missionis licentia*) only embraces specimens dating from 1,200 years ago down to to-day; the author promises us a second volume of really ancient ones later on. As he explains, the modern Chinese Folk-lore of which he now treats is a jumble of Neo-Buddhism (*i.e.*, after the Tantra school of the Cingalese Amôgha, who came to China in 733 A.D.); Neo-Taoism (of the Sung dynasty Emperor 900 years ago); Neo-Confucianism (of the great philosopher and "interpreter" Chu Hi 700 years ago), mixed up with the superstitions of the various Tartar races, and the mercenary or mercantile military and business settlers who have from time to time taken precarious root in China (*cf.* chap. v. of my "China and Religion," Murray, 1905).

The spelling of Chinese words adopted by the learned Jesuit perhaps smacks of the well-known *hien* city of Hien, the chief Jesuit centre in China after Siccawei in Shanghai. The mere fact that Père Wieger spells his own town "Sienhsien" points to a certain looseness in his ideas of etymology; in Peking, and presumably all over Chih Li, if not also everywhere where "mandarin" is spoken, the two words Hien-*hien* (both of which begin etymologically with an *h*, and not with an *s*) are pronounced Hsien-*hsien*—*i.e.*, with a sort of indefinite hiss, half or a third of the way between *h*, *s*, and *sh*. Words etymologically beginning with *s* are also pronounced with this *hs* initial in most

"mandarin" dialects. But it is rather startling to find Ho-nan spelt *Hêue-nan*, Ningpo spelt *Ning-p'ouo*, the well-known "Emperor" Hiang Tsi spelt *Hiang Tsie* (and hundreds of other similar cases). The translation is often rather loose, but at any rate it gives the colloquial French spirit of the thing, and after all it is vain labour to worry about too much literal accuracy when dealing with vernacular. No student who reads these stories in class will trouble himself much about the French or any other translation, except it be to seek information when he is "stumped" altogether as to the Chinese word: he will rather enjoy puzzling out the racy Chinese for himself, and the acquiring of a new stock of current conversation *pabulum* for practical use. M. A. Vissière has already placed students of Chinese in Europe under a great debt by providing for them in his recently published "Recueil" (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1908) a large number of specimen literary documents written in every possible style. But M. Vissière did not indulge much in the specific story-telling style, and therefore here Père Wieger supplies a genuine want. We are not told what the published price is, but the work can be procured from O. Harrasowitz, Leipzig, as well as from Paris, and, of course, also from the Shanghai and Tientsin missions.

E. H. PARKER.

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

6. *The Shahnáma of Firdausi*, done into English by A. G. WARNER and E. WARNER. Although it is claimed in the introduction to this work that it is the first complete English translation of the *Shahnáma*, a reference to its contents and comparison with any portion of the original Persian prove that it is neither a translation nor a paraphrase, and it is therefore impossible to review it critically. Various versions of the original text are referred to, but nothing but a general idea can be formed from this version of what the original may have been like, and it would be a

useless and unprofitable labour to endeavour to trace any closer resemblance between it and the fifty or sixty thousand rhymed couplets of which Firdausi's epic consisted. It is very unsatisfactory to have to notice in this manner a work that must have been a labour of love to the two brothers to whom it owes its joint authorship, but our duty to the public compels us to prove the correctness of our assertion by comparing two or three passages of this so-called translation with the original Persian as contained in Colonel Turner Macan's edition, collated from various authentic manuscripts, and published at Calcutta in about A.D. 1829, the only reliable version extant.

The following passage is from the commencement of the work :

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE PITIFUL.

"In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind,  
To nothing sublimer can thought be applied ;  
The Lord of whatever is named or assigned  
A place, the Sustainer of all and the Guide ;  
The Lord of Saturn and the turning sky,  
Who causeth Venus, Sun, and Moon to shine,  
Who is above conception, name, or sign,  
The Artist of the heaven's jewelry !  
Him thou canst see not, though thy sight thou strain,  
For thought itself will struggle to attain  
To One above all name and place in vain,  
Since mind and wisdom fail to penetrate  
Beyond our elements, but operate  
On matters that the senses render plain."

The following is a translation of the same passage from Macan's edition :

"In the name of the Lord of the soul and wisdom,  
Higher than which thought cannot pass—  
The Lord of name and the Lord of place (or dignity) ;  
The Lord who gives daily bread, the shower of the road (Guide) ;  
The Lord of the world and the revolving sphere ;  
The illuminator of the Moon, and Náhíd (Venus), and the Sun,  
Than name and sign and fancy He is higher—  
He is the Supreme Painter of jewels !  
To those who see (or would see) the Creator,  
Thou canst not see (Him); trouble not your two eyes."

Thought cannot find the road to Him,  
 For He is higher than name and than place (or dignity).  
 Whatever speech passes beyond this excellence,  
 To it the soul and wisdom find no road.  
 Wisdom and the soul He weighs ;  
 Into weighed thought when does He enter ?  
 There can praise Him no one as He is ;  
 Thou shouldst gird the loins of service to Him.  
 If wisdom seeks for a word (to describe Him),  
 It chooses that which it sees.  
 With such instrument (or machinery), and soul and spirit,  
 Who can attain to the praise of the Creator ?  
 In thy being it behoves thee to be a believer (on Him) ;  
 Stand aside from useless speech.  
 Be a worshipper and waiter on the road ;  
 Bend thy neck to His severe commands.  
 He is powerful who is learned ;  
 Through learning the heart of the old is young.  
 Beyond this Veil (or screen) there is no place for speech ;  
 Beyond thy being for thought there is no road.”

As said above, there is here but a glimmering of the original sense, but certainly neither translation nor attempted paraphrase. We pass on to another passage :

“ Zahhák sat on the throne a thousand years,  
 Obeyed by all the world. Through that long time  
 The customs of the wise were out of vogue.  
 The lusts of madmen flourished everywhere—  
 All virtue was despised, black art esteemed,  
 Right lost to sight, disaster manifest ;  
 While diós accomplished their fell purposes,  
 And no man spoke of good unless by stealth.  
 The sisters of Jamshíd, their sex’s crown,  
 Were brought out trembling like a willow-leaf.  
 Of those two ladies, visaged like the moon—  
 The names were Shahrináz and Amaoáz—  
 Men bore them to the palace of Zahhák,  
 And gave them over to the dragon king,  
 Who educated them in evil ways,  
 And taught them sorcery and necromancy.  
 The only teaching that he knew was bad—  
 To massacre, to pillage, and to burn.  
 He brought them up in the way of vice ;  
 He taught them fraud and magic.  
 On this the vile Zahhák laid his foundation ;  
 The world became to him as a bead of wax.

He himself knew only how to teach evil—  
Nothing but plundering, slaying, and burning.  
It was so that every night two youths,  
Whether of low (rank) or of the seed of the Pahlaváns,  
The cook took to the hall of the king,  
And of them prepared a medicine for the monarch.  
He killed them, and tore out their brains ;  
He made of them food for that dragon.  
There were two pure ones of the seed of kings—  
Two precious and holy ones—  
The name of one was Armáil of pure faith,  
The other's name was Karmáil the provident."

This is another in the book under review :

" Zahkák sat on the throne a thousand years,  
Obeyed by all the world. Through that long time  
The customs of the wise were out of vogue.  
The lusts of madmen flourished everywhere—  
All virtue was despised, black art esteemed,  
Right lost to sight, disaster manifest ;  
While diós accomplished their fell purposes,  
And no man spoke of good unless by stealth.  
Two sisters of Jamshid, their sex's crown,  
Were brought out trembling like a willow-leaf.  
Of these two ladies, visaged like the moon—  
The names were Shahrináz and Amaoáz—  
Men bore them to the palace of Zahhák,  
And gave them over to the dragon king,  
Who educated them in evil ways,  
And taught them sorcery and necromancy.  
The only teaching that he knew was bad—  
To massacre, to pillage, and to burn.  
Each night two youths of high or lowly birth  
Were taken to the palace by the cook,  
Who, having slaughtered them, took out their brains  
To feed the snakes and save the monarch's anguish.  
Now in the realm were two good high-born Persians—  
The pious Irmáil, and Karmáil  
The provident."

Here, again, we may recognize that the passage is the same as that translated above from the original Persian, but it is neither a translation nor a paraphrase, nor can any portion of the book be described in any other terms, and anyone desirous of studying the sense of the original must seek for it elsewhere.—A. ROGERS.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK,  
BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA, 1909.

7. *Analysis of the Evolution of Musical Form*, by MARGARET H. GLYN, author of "The Rhythmic Conception of Music," etc. The author in the preface of this work says: "The general drift of this theory of music has already been indicated in the author's work, 'The Rhythmic Conception of Music.' The object of the present volume may be briefly stated to be the application of the evolutionary principle to practical music, the essential motive-power of which is to be found rhythm. By this means it is possible to produce an analysis which, as promised in the former volume, 'shall weld all the various parts of musical education into one consistent and logical whole.' The theory has arisen not from abstract ideas, but out of the study of music. It is not so much a theory about music as an endeavour to translate into the terms of the intellect the form of the impressions made upon the musical imagination—in short, to hold the mirror up to music." The work is arranged under two main headings, which are a guide to its contents generally rather than exact divisions of the subject. In the first part, titled "Tone Material," there are various subjects discussed in twelve chapters. Under the second part, titled "Rhythm," there are also twelve chapters. There is an appendix of musical illustrations, one of which is the Types of the Evolution of Asiatic Tonality. There is also a glossary of technical terms used in this work.

The volume contains admirable material, which should be seriously studied by all those interested in the progress of music.

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LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

8. *Count John of Capo d' Istria*. This small volume in modern Greek contains an interesting account of the life and work of Count John of Capo d' Istria, called by the Greeks

Kapodistrias (pronounced Kapothistrias), who was born in Corfu, 1776, elected President of Greece in the time of the independence, 1827, and assassinated at Nauplia, on political grounds, 1831. His life, written in Greek by Lazarus Veleli, was issued at Athens in 1908 by a society for the publication of useful books, and deals with him as the founder of Greek national education. The work has 190 pages,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with twenty-eight lines on each, and comprises three parts. The first sketches the state of education in Greek towns when the revolution was in its preparatory stage. The second sets forth the endeavours resulting from the spread of that enduring struggle. The third relates the continuation of those efforts under the direction of John Capo d' Istria. How this was effected many details are given, including the sums subscribed in aid of the movement, and need not be repeated here.

In this acquisition of learning the Greeks had no one for a leader more devoted or capable than Capo d' Istria. He was barely thirty years old when, in 1804, there was established in Corfu the first public school, of which he, a government clerk, was appointed director. The choice was excellent, because he had long been the centre of a circle composed of the literary and scientific men of the locality, the latter including in their ranks Capo d' Istria, who had a medical education.

But he did not hold that office for long, since new prospects loomed in his future, and on August 5, 1808, we find him sending from Otranto in Italy the following letter to Andrew Idromenos, head-master of that school :

LEARNED SIR,

Here I am, after enduring a long anxiety on account of the English. I am quarantined here, and then go on by land to Naples. After Naples I don't know what course I shall take. So that, my friend and brother, is my tale.

Neither place nor circumstance can lessen the true love, respect, and obligation I feel towards you. I beg you to keep me in your kind remembrance and affection.

Always your friend,

JOHN CAPO D' ISTRIA.

What the instruction was in Greek towns sixty or even fifty years before the revolution many others have told, but Koraï most minutely of all. He states that his father, a man of the keenest intellect and endowed with natural eloquence, did not receive any literary education at all, because he had the misfortune to be prematurely left an orphan. Sophronius, his father's brother, must have been educated to some extent, since he was Archbishop of Belgrad; but his learning appears to have been somewhat restricted, for, if he had had merit as a man of letters, Adamantios would not have referred so briefly to the meeting with his uncle in Vienna, and without a word as to the quality of the man. His mother had been taught something by her cultivated father; but the only progress she made was to the extent of understanding the easier Greek writers of the decline; certainly not Plutarch or any of the philosophers, but, for instance, Æsop's fables, three or four of Lucian's dialogues, and at the very most a discourse or so of John Chrysostom, and all of them very superficially.

Teaching arose everywhere, and children of every class became ambitious to be no longer illiterate. The verse—

"My lovely moon,  
Guide me to walk  
To go to school  
To learn my letters  
And the works of God"—

show that young people, working all day for a living, collected in the evening from all directions in towns, villages, or country districts, wherever some learned parish priest or monk was found to give them lessons in reading.

to explain the divine precepts, to drill them in writing their names and other simple words of daily necessity ; but always in small characters, as we are justified in concluding from the entire absence of capital letters in the signatures of contracts and public acts, or in the accounts of grocers and the like.

The great advances made since that time are due to the energy and perseverance of Capo d' Istria, who set himself the task of introducing and organizing methods of instruction throughout the villages of Greece, so that the nation came, as it was said, to have "a head regulating the movements of its members." There arose honourable rivalries, with mutual instruction all fostered by contributions both of money and materials from rich and poor. — RUSHTON PARKER.

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LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET,  
LONDON

9. *Hindu Tales*: Translated and edited by JOHN JACOB MEYER. We have here, in a series of sections, a number of treatises of exquisite beauty and finish, on certain tales current among the Hindús. It is a translation into English of the Maháráshtri version of Jacobi's "Ausgewählte Erzählungen." The Tales are those in vogue among the Jainas (popularly pronounced "Jains" or "Jynes"), an offset of the Hindú community : some acquaintance with the theological tenets of both Hindús and Jainas is, therefore, necessary to an intelligent perusal of the Tales. The real sentiments and true wisdom of any people are often to be best perceived in their folk-lore, their tales, traditions, songs, and popular saws. The Tales in this volume are not all of equal interest, but the interest of them increases as the work advances, some of the most interesting being near the end. We have the story of Bambhadatta, Sanañ-kumára, and Udayana ; then come the stories of the Pratyekabuddhas, to wit, Karakandu, Domuha, Nami, and Naggai ; also of Múladeva, Mandiya, Agaladatta, and

Agadadatta. Following the Tales is an Appendix, containing notes, addenda and corrigenda, *variae lectiones*, etc., etc. The work will be found to have a special value and fascination for the student of Sanskrit and the Prákritis : on this aspect of the work a great deal of recondite information will be found in the footnotes (which are very numerous and of great value) throughout the volume.

And, upon the whole, it will be seen that the simple title "Hindú Tales" is much too unpretending, and needs to be taken with discrimination. We do not, however, hereby suggest that the title be altered in favour of a more learned looking one ; on the contrary, its very simplicity proves to be a recommendation. But those who approach the volume should not too hastily conclude that it is a work for children, or is of a popular nature—it is, in fact, a work of much labour and of profound erudition. There are a few oversights or misprints, as where, on p. 8 of the Preface, the words " identifications " and " Wherever " are incorrectly spelt ; but as an achievement of literary workmanship and research it is deserving of the highest commendation.

—J. D. B.

METHUEN AND CO.

10. *The Turkish People*: by LUCY M. I. GARNETT. This book suffers a little by having been written with no inkling of the proximity of the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, but is interesting from being an intelligent account of the ruling race of Turkey just after the promulgation of the new Constitution. The author takes care to point out that now, however they may have started, the Turks are a white race, bearing few traces of Oriental descent owing to their constant intermarriages with Gaiours, and, on the other hand, hardly any from intercourse with the constant stream of negro house-slaves. The Turkish people, at the time the book was written, were in a state of transition. The magic word "Constitution" promised reform, but the habits, loyalty in spite of arrears of payment, the over-driving of

the peasant class, and the overlay of French education upon superstitious ignorance, was still truly Oriental. The formation of clubs has been one of the notable results of the reforms, however, and there has been a sudden encouragement of every form of sport, which in the future may be a real factor in the development of so virile a race. The author writes well and with knowledge of the Turks, giving descriptions of their religious and social ceremonies, and illuminating these with some of their quaint Hodja stories and tales. She has treated also of their home-life and interests. Polygamy, outside the Sultan's court, is much less common than it was ; and she sees some good in the harem system, and that there is considerable real independence, though not liberty, in the position of the Turkish woman. The book is one that is pleasant to read and to consider when one has read it.—A. F. S.

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JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

II. *The City of Jerusalem*: by Colonel C. R. CONDER, L.L.D., M.R.A.S., R.E. This is one of the most enjoyable books, and they are many, which have been published recently about the Holy Land. The writer has the great privilege of knowing a vast amount about the topography of Jerusalem, ancient and modern, and moreover he can, and does, put his knowledge before his eager readers in a scholarly and yet pleasant form, which soon gains their wholehearted attention. He does not take up much room with conjectures as to the history of Jerusalem before the days of "the mysterious figure of Melchizedek, King of Salem," although he identifies his city with Jerusalem, and holds that it was the old "City of Safety," a part of which bore the now universally-loved name of Zion. As he narrates, this city became in due time "The City of David," and was made even more holy by the building therein of Solomon's Temple. The site of the Temple is now one of the few certain sites in Jerusalem which can be identified

with absolute certainty as one of the holy places, in spite of the constant change of masters who have dominated over the city. It was in turn destroyed, rebuilt by Herod, desecrated by the Romans, rebuilt and reverenced by Crusaders or by Arabs. We proceed to the regal period, and find that Hezekiah's "Pool of Siloam" still exists with inscriptions, and that, in the so-called "tombs of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus," we most likely have "The tombs of the Kings." The restorations of Ezra and Nehemiah come more easily from their narratives, but after that comes a historical gap in the history of the city. The tolerant Alexander the Great favoured the Jews; but his last tolerant successors left traces in Jerusalem, and to their rule, succeeded, after the Hasmonæans that of Rome.

Under Rome the Idumæan Herods gave the city a fresh splendour, which we still can trace in the harem walls and "David's tower." The descriptions of Herodian Jerusalem are full of interest in relation with the Gospel narrative, and we are led, step by step, to the final question of the locality of Golgotha. The "Garden tomb," identified by General Gordon, is disqualified by our author as much more recent, and it must rank with many sites named by earlier believers with more zeal than knowledge. Colonel Conder, however, thinks that Golgotha may be in the spot known to the Sephardim Jews still as the "House of Stoning," while he holds the real site of the Holy Sepulchre still unidentified. The fall of Jerusalem to the Romans ended the Jewish rule, and completely altered the character of the city. The walls were razed; so was the Temple, and its decorations enriched the triumph of Titus. No Jew was for long permitted to live in Jerusalem. Hadrian built there a new Roman and Pagan town. Later, Jews (for payment) were permitted to enter "to mourn," but not until the Antonines to reside again in the city as traders. The Christians also were absent for many years, and it is owing to this that the break in the traditions necessitated the Gospel sites to be resought and renamed anew. The

history of the gradual naming of the present hallowed holy places is one of the most fascinating parts of this book. The Emperor Constantine, on his conversion, began to renew the cultus of the Holy land, and to his zeal the discovery, by Bishop Macarius, of what is now known as the Holy Sepulchre, was the first result. The identification of place after place followed, and this part of the book which deals with the legends of the zealous pilgrims, the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the successive invasions of the Crusades, the Latin Kingdom, and the final subjugation of Jerusalem by the Turk, teems with historical interest. Always cautious and critical, the author will never identify any sacred site on mere tradition alone, but he regards everything with the scrutiny of a learned topographer. As he himself says, in cases where the Jew, the Christian, and the Moslem, all honour the same site it generally appears that we have the actual spot described, or casually noticed, in the Bible. But there are not many such sites in Palestine, except the tombs of the Hebrew patriarchs at Hebron ; the grave of Rachel, near Bethlehem ; Jacob's Well, east of Shechem ; and, in Jerusalem itself, the sites of Siloam and Olivet; of the Temple itself ; and of Herod's "palace and tower." He points out, moreover, that "there is not a single existing site in the Holy City that is mentioned in connection with Christian history before the year A.D. 326, when Constantine's mother adored the two footprints of Christ on Olivet." He examines and narrates all the traditions, however, with both knowledge and sympathy. Not only for us, but for Jew, Christian, and Moslem, Jerusalem "has always been a Holy City which they coveted, and for which they shed their blood."—A. F. S.

12. *Wisdom of the East: The Splendour of God, being extracts from the sacred writings of the Bahais, with introduction by ERIC HAMMOND.* This is one of the best volumes of the above series. Mr. Hammond writes a very interesting introduction to the work under the title of "A

"Glimpse through the Gate." The book itself consists of six chapters, namely : The Bab : The Foreteller ; Baha 'u 'elah: The One Foretold ; Abbas Effendi : "The Servant of God"; The Seven Valleys ; Texts from the Tablets ; and Hidden Words. Mr. Hammond says : "The source of spirituality must be one, even as God is one ; and the different languages and systems by means of which spirituality tries to assert itself, although they go far in the direction of perpetuating division between races and men, have, after all, a common origin, lying dim and only partially realizable in the shadow of the bygone. Bahais claim not only the acknowledgment of the spiritual relationship of all men, but its practical endorsement. Visitors to Abbas Effendi, at his home in Acca, are of many tongues and many nations. He has ardent adherents in America, England, France, and Germany, besides thousands of disciples Eastern in education and in temperament. Men of opposing peoples and professions eat at his table together, and the master himself waits upon his guests in sacred service. This much has certainly been brought about. Bahais claimed, too, the adhesion of at least a third of the Persian people. They assure us also that the light from Acca has expelled the darkness of division from minds schooled in distrust, if not in hatred, of other minds. More, they claim that Bahaism has, and holds aloft as the light of men, the Light of Love—a light that cannot fail to rend asunder the veil of separation, and enable man to see and love man, notwithstanding any diversions of nation or origin, of colour, caste, or creed."

For an example of this doctrine we shall quote what Abbas Effendi says under the heading "True Belief." "The guidance of God is that which will always guide people in the right way.

"All human beings are earthly ; their hearts are connected with this world. Day and night their thoughts and occupations are earthly ; all belong to this world. They think about the honours of this world, or about the riches

and wealth of this world, or of name and fame in this world. Their days and nights pass in this way.

"The guidance of God makes it evident and plain, when the Way of the Kingdom--the Divine Path—is opened, that this is the road to the Kingdom.

"It is not sufficient only to distinguish the Way of the Kingdom—only to discover the Heavenly Way—you must travel upon it until the end is reached. For example: that a man discovers the way to America is not sufficient. He must travel in it, that he may reach that country; otherwise, if he remain for years discovering more about the way, and does not travel by it, he will never arrive.

"It is not sufficient for a child to know where the school is; he must study in it, that he may gain knowledge. Faith is not merely to know which is the school, and to recognize the teacher; but one must acquire knowledge in this school. If one does not gain knowledge it is useless to know of the school.

"This is what Christ said: 'Ye shall know the tree by its fruits.'

"If you see one who is truthful, who really believes and is just, who is attracted to the Kingdom, and whose will is annihilated in the way of God, then you will know that he is a tree of the Kingdom, if he shows forth all these qualities.

"If you see one whose heart is attached to this world, and in whom there is no truthfulness, or detachment, or turning to God; one who is not occupied in praising and speaking of God, or in attraction to the love of God, then you will know that he is a tree of darkness.

"True belief is not only to acknowledge the Oneness of God. By belief we mean that one reality of man will be characterized by Divine characteristics. If his reality is dark he will become enlightened. If he is heedless he will become conscious; if he is asleep he will be awokened; if he is earthly he will become heavenly; if he is Satanic he will become Divine. This is the meaning of true belief.

"Therefore, I say that man must travel in the way of God. Day and night he must endeavour to become better; his belief must increase and become firmer; his good qualities and his turning to God must be greater; the fire of his love must flame more brightly. Then, day by day, he will make progress.

"For to stop advancing is the means of going back. The bird when he flies soars ever higher and higher. All the time he endeavours to mount higher, for as soon as he stops flying he will come down.

"Every day in the morning, when arising, you should compare to day with yesterday, and see in what condition you are. If you see your belief is stronger, and your heart more occupied with God, and your love increased, and your freedom from the world greater, then thank God, and ask for the increase of these qualities. You must pray and repent for all that you have done which is wrong, and you must implore and ask for help and assistance, that you may be better than yesterday, so that you may continue to make progress.

"Do not let the desires of the self find a place within you, for it is certain that even when you reach the highest state of spirituality, one worldly desire can cause your downfall.

"The spirit is like a bird: when it flies in the air it is always mounting; but the self is like the hunter, who is thinking how to catch the bird. You will see that by one arrow, one shot, it will be brought low.

"This arrow is the connection with this world; the occupation of this world; the desires of this world; the honours of this world.

"In many ways the hunter will stop the spirit from ascending. That is why you must ask, and implore, and entreat: 'O God! protect me from myself.'"—**ABDUL-BAHA ABBAS.**

There are many other beautiful sentiments such as these which space does not allow us to quote.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Persian Poets, Firdausi to Hafiz*, prepared by MAULAVI ABDUL MUQTADIR. (The Bengal Secretariat Book Dépôt, Calcutta.) This is the first instalment of a series of volumes which are to contain a complete and descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. This library owes its origin to Mulari Muhammad Bakhsh Khan, and since his death to his son Khan Bahadur Maulavi Khuda Bakhsh Khan, C.I.E. The library contains upwards of six thousand manuscripts. This is the first large *catalogue raisonné* of Arabic and Persian manuscripts ever published in India. In the biographical and bibliographical details given under each work, the compiler has endeavoured to use original sources and to form independent views, thus laying under contribution several rare biographical works which were unknown or inaccessible to his predecessors. The whole catalogue is prepared for the Government of Bengal under the supervision of E. Denison Ross, PH.D.

*The Burmese and Arakanese Calenders*, by A. M. B. IRWIN, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Printed at the Hanthawaddy Printing Works, Rangoon; Luzac and Co., London.) This is an excellent little book which supplies a long-felt want. The author has gone to great pains to bring the work, which he first published in 1901, up to a more complete form. The Burmese and Arakanese Calendars are described, together with a list of tables compiled, by which English dates may be translated into Burmese dates and *vice versa*.

*The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1909. (Williams and Norgate, London.) The July number of this magazine contains some very learned articles by writers of great ability on subjects which embrace religion, theology, and philosophy. Professor H. Weinel deals with "Religious Life" and

Thought in Germany To-day"; Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hart contributes a very interesting article on "Moral Force in War"; whilst other subjects of equally great importance are dealt with.

*Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report, 1905-06.* (Calcutta Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1909.) This is a very handsome and complete report of archæological surveys in India during 1905-06. From the list of contents we give some of the leading heads: "Ancient Monuments of Kāngrā Ruined in the Earthquake"; "Some Conservation Works in the Northern Circle"; "Restoration of two Elephant Statues at the Fort of Delhi"; "Restoration of Jaina Tower at Chitor-gadh"; "Progress of Conservation in Madras"; "A New Find of Punchmarked Coins"; "Epigraphy (General)"; "Archæological Reports published under Official Authority." The volume is beautifully illustrated, and well printed in a very clear type.

*Persian Self-Taught (Marlborough's Self-Taught Series, No. 22, Persian), in Roman Characters, with English Phonetic Pronunciations, containing the Alphabet, Transliteration, and Pronunciation; Outline of Grammar; Classified Vocabularies and Conversations; Travel Talk, Trade, and Commerce; Persian Handwriting; the Numerals, Money Weights, and Measures, etc., by SHAYK HASAN.* (E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, London, E.C.) This little book will be found very useful to students as well as travellers through Persia. From beginning to end there is a display of tables by which the student can easily overcome any difficulties in obtaining a knowledge of the language. The transliterations, of which there are a good number of pages, are very useful. The outline of Persian grammar is also an excellent addition, and the whole goes to make up a book which should be possessed by all students and travellers.

*Livingstone College Year-Book, 1909.* (Livingstone College, Leyton, Essex.) We are glad to observe that during

the past year this most excellent institution has been very prosperous, and its advance in the future may be expected to be steadily maintained. The book contains, in addition to the report of the College, which has been issued previously, matters of great interest to all who are concerned in Tropical travel. Among its contents will be found Rules of Health for Missionaries in the Tropics, drawn up at the instance of the Association of Medical Officers of Missionary Societies, and these contain, in a very small compass, information which is needed by all Europeans going to the Tropics as to the preservation of their own health. These rules are absolutely up to date, based upon the most recent researches in the subject of Tropical hygiene, and should prove of the greatest value. There is also a careful résumé of a year's progress in Tropical medicine, including interesting particulars concerning the Sleeping Sickness Bureau, and the latest suggestions as to the methods of dealing with this great scourge of Tropical Africa.

*The Buddhist Review.* (Published for the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, by Probstchain and Co., 41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) We have received copies of this new review up to September, which contain a variety of articles relating to Buddhism and recent literature which are very interesting, and wish it every success.

*The Ninth Annual Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1909. The Department of Finance.* (Printed by the Government Printing Office, Tokyo.) This beautifully printed annual is a valuable asset to those who have commercial and other dealings with Japan. By means of diagrams one can at a glance get a knowledge of the Revenue and Expenditure, Exports and Imports, and Commodities, etc., and their fluctuations for the last ten years. It contains a large handsome map.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society. Proceedings, May, June, and July, 1909.* (Printed for the Society.)

This number (55) contains some very interesting articles, especially one by Lancelot F. Lawton on "Russia in the Far East," tracing her diplomacy for past centuries, as well as her enterprise in the Far East.

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We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*; *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1909 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*Aswini Kumar Dutt: A Vindication of his Life and Conduct*, by "Indicus" (Calcutta: Prithwis Chandra Ray);—*Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the Year ending March 31, 1909* (Rangoon: Superintendent Government Printing, Burma);—*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*: Dutch Records, No. 6, "List of Dutch Manuscripts, Letters, and Official Documents," copied by the Rev. P. Groot (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press);—*Un Nouvel Apocryphe. Étude sur un Fragment de Manuscrit du Vieux Caire*, par Lazare Belléli (Livourne: Imprimerie de S. Belforte et Cie.).

*An Appeal on Behalf of the Government and People of China*, by H. E. T'ang K'ai Sun (London : Morgan and Scott) ;—*The Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. v., part 4 ; vol. vi., parts 1 and 2 (London : Luzac and Co. ; Leipzig : Otto Harrasowitz) ;—*Bouddhisme : Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique*, par L. de la Vallée Poussin (Paris : Gabriel Beauchesne and Co.) ;—*La Doctrine de l'Islam*, par le Baron Carra de Vaux (Paris : Beauchesne and Co.).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *Australian Socialism*, by A. St. Ledger (London : Macmillan and Co.) ;—*Textes Persans Relatifs à la Secte des Houroûfîs Publiés, Traduits et Annotés*, par M. Clément Huart (Leyden : G. J. Brill ; London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*From Zoroaster to Christ : An Autobiographical Sketch of the Rev. Dhanjebhai Nauroji* (Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier) ;—*Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, by Vincent A. Smith, M.A. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press) ;—*The Indian Craftsman*, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (London : Probothain and Co.) ;—*The Russo-Japanese War*, by Captain F. R. Sedgwick (London : Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd.) ;—*Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel* (London : Edward Stanford) ;—*Yün-Nan*, by Major H. R. Davies (Cambridge : University Press).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA: GENERAL.**—The following Indian appointments were amongst the honours conferred in connection with the official celebration of the King's birthday, June 24:

*Order of the Star of India.*—G.C.S.I.: His Excellency General Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., R.E., Commander-in-Chief in India.

K.C.S.I.: George Stuart Forbes, Esq., c.s.i., Indian Civil Service, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George; Captain His Highness Raja Sajjan Singh of Ratlam.

C.S.I.: Krishna Gobinda Gupta, Esq., Indian Civil Service (retired), a Member of the Council of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India; Ashutosh Mukharji, Esq., M.A., D.L., a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta; Richard Amphlett Lamb, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Revenue, Financial, and Separate Departments, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations; Major-General Henry Montague Pakington Hawkes, C.B., Indian Army, Director of Supplies and Transport; Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, C.I.E., D.L., lately an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations; Francis Capel Harrison, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Officiating Comptroller and Auditor-General; Hewling Luson, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of a Division, Eastern Bengal and Assam; Major Percy Zachariah Cox., C.I.E., Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

*Order of the Indian Empire.*—K.C.I.E.: William Stevenson Meyer, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance

Department; Wilhelm Schlich, Esq., C.I.E., PH.D., late Indian Forest Department.

C.I.E.: Henry Parsall Burt, Esq., A.M.I.C.E., Manager, North-Western Railway; Godfrey Butler Hunter Fell, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department; John Newlands, Esq., Officer on Special Duty in connection with the Re-organization of the Telegraph Department; Colonel James Henry Elias Beer, v.d., Commandant, Mussoorie Volunteer Rifles; Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Parkin, Indian Army, Deputy Inspector-General of Military Police, Burma; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Neil Campbell, M.B., Indian Medical Service, Officiating Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Eastern Bengal and Assam; Montagu Sherard Dawes Butler, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and lately Settlement Officer, Kota, Rajpootana; Major Stuart George Knox, lately Political Agent at Koweit; Captain Cecil Godfrey Rawling, Prince Albert's Somersetshire Light Infantry; Edgar Thurston, Esq., L.R.C.P., Superintendent, Government Central Museum, and Superintendent of Ethnography, Madras; Diwan Bahadur Seth Kastur Chand Daga, Rai Bahadur, of Bikaner, Rajpootana; Rai Natthi Mal Bahadur of Khurja in the Bulandshahr District, United Provinces; Rai Bahadur Buta Singh, of Rawul Pindi, Punjab; Henry Alexander Kirk, Esq., India Office, late India Telegraph Department, Director-in-Chief, Indo-European Telegraph Department.

Before departing from India, Lord Kitchener was entertained at many farewell banquets, the last of which was at Simla on August 20, given by the members of the United Service Club, at which over 160 attended, Sir Harold Stuart in the chair. There were also present Lord Minto and Sir Louis Dane, and all the members of the Viceroy's Council. A deep feeling of regret was expressed at Lord Kitchener's departure.

Sir O'Moore Creagh, Lord Kitchener's successor, left

London on August 26, and arrived at Bombay on September 10. He will meet Lord Kitchener at Poona, where he will take over the command.

A meeting of prominent Europeans and Indians was held in Calcutta on July 30, the Chief Justice presiding, to concert measures to erect an equestrian statue to Lord Kitchener in Calcutta, to commemorate his services in India. The Maharaja of Tagore and the Maharaja of Burdwan spoke in eulogistic terms of Lord Kitchener's services to the Indian army. The sum of £9,000 was collected at the meeting, and Messrs. Henry S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, London, S.W., have consented to receive contributions from all who are desirous of supporting the proposal.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W. H. Curzon Wyllie was shot dead at the Imperial Institute on July 1, and a Parsee doctor of Shanghai, Dr. Cawas Lal Caca, by the same assailant, Madar Lal Dhingra, a native student of the Punjab. He was sentenced to death by the Lord Chief Justice on July 23. The sentence was carried out on August 17.

A meeting was held in Allahabad on July 31 to inaugurate an agricultural and industrial exhibition for the United Provinces. Sir John Hewett presided, and among those present were the Nawab of Rampur, the Maharaja of Benares, the Maharaja of Balrampur, the Raja of Jehangirabad, the Hon. Raja of Mahemdabad, and Sir Harnam Singh. A Council, with Sir John Stanley as chairman and a strong executive committee and a general committee, was formed. Over £7,733 had been subscribed, which included 20,000 rupees each from the Nawab of Rampur and the Maharajas of Benares and Balrampur.

The primary duty of the Council was to exhibit the products of their province, and to arrange for the collection and explanation of all mechanical devices likely to be useful in the preparation of those products. The Government is to undertake a forestry and an education sections

Allahabad has been chosen for the exhibition, which will be opened in December, 1910.

The Governor of Madras, on July 21, opened a new Agricultural College and Research Institute at Coimbatore, which has been completed at a cost, including the surrounding farm, of eight lakhs of rupees.

Sir J. P. Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, opened an important Conference on August 4 at Lucknow, composed of officials and non-officials, the latter being landowners and dairy and grass-farm managers. The object of the Conference is the consideration of measures for the improvement of agricultural cattle and dairy farms in the United Provinces.

The Government of Eastern Bengal is considering a scheme of policing the waterways of that province, which have an extent of 5,000 miles. The water-routes carry trade for the greater part of the year, and afford a hunting-ground for dacoits, who are of Malay origin, and are sometimes employed in cultivation in the winter, and who take to robbery during the rainy season. It is proposed to organize thirty-six floating police-stations, and to engage a force of 700 officers and men. The initial cost of the scheme is estimated at 15 lakhs (£100,000), and the recurring cost at from 5 to 6 lakhs (£33,333 to £40,000). The United Provinces Government have sanctioned an expenditure of some Rs. 18,000 for the construction of a bridge over the West Baghul River, in the Kumaon Tarai.

The gross earnings of the Indian railways for the first quarter of the current financial year were Rs. 41,16,000 higher than those of the corresponding period of last year, but Rs. 34,20,000 less than those of 1907-08, which was a record quarter.

A memorandum by the Under-Secretary of State for India, relating to the accounts of the Government of India for the three years 1907-10, issued as a Parliamentary paper, says the revised estimate for 1908-09 shows, as compared with the Budget for that year, a decrease of

£3,606,700 in net revenue, and an increase of £685,300 in net expenditure, resulting in a deficit on the year of £3,720,500, instead of the surplus of £571,500 anticipated in the Budget. The surplus for 1907-08 was £306,046. This is greater, by £70,646, than the surplus shown in the revised estimates published in March, 1908. The Budget for 1909-10 estimates the revenue at £73,750,900, and the expenditure at £73,520,000, leaving an estimated surplus of £230,900. The chief cause of the net decrease of £3,606,700 in the net revenue for 1908-09 was a falling-off of £3,582,900 in the net railway receipts. The only considerable unanticipated increase of net revenue was under the head of opium (£1,264,200), due in part to the high price realized by Bengal opium, but mainly to an increase from 15,100—the figure estimated in the Budget—to 35,000 in the number of chests of Malwa opium on which export duty was paid. The net Army charges were higher by £633,146 in 1908-09 than in 1907-08. The Budget for 1909-10 provides for an increase of £165,800 over the revised estimates of 1908-09. This is the net result of an increase in the provision required for the additional pay of the Indian Army (of which a full year's cost, £426,600, has to be met in 1909-10), and of compensating economies in other directions.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Dunlop-Smith, private secretary to Lord Minto, will succeed Sir Curzon Wyllie as Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India.

Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, secretary of the Khaka Dewan and Khaka College, Amritsar, has been nominated an additional member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Mr. John Nathaniel Atkinson, C.S.I., I.C.S., has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, in place of Sir G. S. Forbes, K.C.S.I., who has resigned.

Mr. Dighumber Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., has been created a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

Mr. George Harry Blair Kenrick, LL.D., barrister-at-law, will succeed Mr. S. P. Sinha as Advocate-General in Bengal.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The extremists have made efforts to carry their propaganda of disloyalty and sedition into the Native States, believing to be more secure from detection than when they were in British territory. Thirty-nine persons were arrested, and, from papers found belonging to them, it was clear that their plans had been organized by men from Bengal and the Mahratta country. The schoolmasters and students were concerned in the affair. At their trial, four were sentenced to seven years and the others, except four who were acquitted, to various terms of imprisonment. The vigorous action of the Gwalior authorities has had the effect of checking the operations of the extremists in the other States. The Maharaja is determined to stamp out sedition at the outset.

From time to time measures have been adopted in Baroda to reduce the number of dutiable articles, and to minimize the impediments to trade, which are necessarily caused by the levy of customs. With the object of further promoting trade and manufactures all frontier duties from November 1 next are to be abolished.

Export duties are now imposed in Baroda and Amreli districts. All export duties, which are estimated to bring a revenue of about a lakh and a half, have been abolished. This loss will be partially made good by the imposition of a special rate on the cotton-growing talukas of Baroda district.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—On July 10 a large gang composed of Khost outlaws attacked a picket at Kajuri post, in the Tochi Valley, consisting of one havildar and seven men. All were killed with the exception of the havildar, who was wounded. The men of the post, with a convoy of fifty men from the 1st Sikhs, repulsed the raiders, killing three of them.

News reached Peshawar that the mullahs in the Mohmand

country are preaching to the tribes urging them to cease their tribal warfares and to unite against the "foreign" foe, and declaring that the time for action is near. The general arming of the tribes by way of Kabul continues actively.

The Ameer of Afghanistan has ordered thirteen regiments of cavalry and infantry and three batteries of artillery to proceed to the Kuram, Waziristan, and Khost borders, where they will be posted with the object of preserving order on the border, and checking tribal disputes.

Forty breechloaders and 2,000 cartridges were captured near Nowshera as they were being smuggled to the Swat Valley by way of Kohat Pass. Hitherto the tribesmen have been accustomed to steal rifles from British territory. This continued smuggling of arms across the frontier will develop a serious danger. The aggressive attitude of certain tribes on the Indo-Afghan border is due to their better armament.

**CEYLON.**—The revenue of the island for the first half of the present financial year shows, over the same period of last year, an increase of nearly half a million. The Ordinance amending the law relating to Indian coolies employed on Ceylon estates has received the approval of the King, and it is expected to come into force on January 1, 1910.

**STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.**—The Government will take over the opium and spirit farms from January next in the southern part of the Peninsula including Johore. It will then manufacture and sell prepared opium, and will also collect the spirit duty. The farm system will be retained for the present at Buang, Kedah, and Perak.

**PERSIA.**—Considerable unrest has prevailed in Persia during the quarter. The Bakhtiari and Nationalist forces succeeded in effecting an entry into the capital on July 13. They occupied the Mejlass buildings, and the whole of the northern quarter of the city. Heavy fighting took place for three days. On July 16 the Shah entered the Russian Legation, when a declaration of peace between the

Nationalists and the Persian Cossacks was proclaimed. By thus taking sanctuary the Shah, Mahomed Ali, virtually abdicated. At a meeting on the same day of the National Council the Shah was formally deposed, and his son, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, was unanimously chosen to succeed to the throne as the new Shah. Azad-ul-Mulk, head of the Kajar tribe, was appointed Regent.

A protocol was signed whereby the Persian Government made terms of arrangements on behalf of the late Shah. Mahomed Ali is relieved of his debts and his immovable property, and will receive a pension of 100,000 tomans (£16,666) for life. After his death his family will receive 25,000 tomans (£4,166) annually. Should he be hereafter guilty of intrigue, satisfactory proof of the same will render his pension liable to cancellation. The protocol also provided for his immediate departure.

The Shah left Zergendeh on September 9 with an escort of Russian Cossacks and Indian Sowars on his way to the Crimea.

**TURKEY-IN-ASIA.**—In consequence of strong measures exerted by the religious and civil leaders of the Armenian community and their supporters in the Committee of the Union and Progress, the Government recently appointed a Commission, composed of the Ministers of Finance, Public Works, and Justice, to prepare a declaration acquitting the Armenians of all responsibility for the outbreak at Adana. This declaration was drawn up after careful examination of the reports of members of the Parliamentary Commission on the massacres, approved by the Council of Ministers, and was published on August 11 at Constantinople. It acquits the Armenians at Adana of the charge of conspiracy, and ascribes the massacre to the ignorance of the population.

**TURKEY-IN-ASIA : YEMEN.**—The following are the recommendations of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to study the Government's scheme for the reorganization of the administration of the Yemen nation :

1. The vilayet of the Yemen shall henceforth be divided into two provinces : the first shall comprise the mountain districts of Amran-Hadjidje, Tawila, Hudjur, Zemar, Irim, and Anas ; the second, the Tehama Plain and the Littoral.

2. The mountain province shall be governed by Yahya Hamid-ed-din, the Imam of the Zeidis ; the lowland province by an Ottoman official.

3. The Governors of both provinces shall have full powers within the limits of the Sheriat (sacred law), the Cadis (Judges), the local officials, and the tax-collectors shall be elected by the population, and approved by the Ottoman Government.

4. The taxes collected in the two provinces shall be employed for local expenditure. Any surplus in their revenue shall be divided between the Central Government and local administration.

5. Ganáa shall be the headquarters of the Ottoman garrison of the provinces. No Ottoman troops shall be stationed in the Imam's capital. All other towns are to have garrisons sufficient for the maintenance of order.

6. The local Budgets shall be submitted annually to the Central Government.

This scheme gives Yemen as large a measure of administrative autonomy as the Ottoman Government can safely concede. The division of the country into two provinces—the “mountain” and the “plain”—follows roughly the line of religious demarcation between the orthodox Sunnis of the lowlands and the Zeidis, who, as semi-Shiahs, do not recognize the Osmanli Kaliphate.

**EGYPT AND SUDAN.**—On September 14, a Congress was held in Geneva of what is termed the “Young Egyptians,” and was addressed by certain members of the British House of Commons and others, in very violent speeches, and at which resolutions were passed demanding evacuation from Egypt of the representatives of the English Government. On the same day a similar meeting was held at Cairo, and resolutions passed to the same effect.

JAPAN.—There have been disputes between China and Japan about the Mukden-Autung Railway. The Japanese Government, being desirous of reconstructing this railway, which is a narrow gauge line, built for military purposes during the late war on a standard gauge so as to connect the South Manchurian and Siberian railway systems with that of Korea. Japan intended to carry on the work in spite of China's resistance and opposition ; she (Japan) based her right upon Article VI. of the Peking Additional Agreement of December 22, 1905, which runs : "China agrees that Japan has the right to make it fit for the conveyance of industrial and commercial goods of all nations." And these words China says do not convey the right of rebuilding ; Japan's right to police the railway was also disputed. Japan claimed that she had the right to maintain guards to protect the railway, the number of such guards not to exceed fifteen per kilometre. Japan wrote a note to the Chinese Government on August 7, and in reply to this note the Chinese Government waived its objections to the widening of the gauge, and to the necessary change of the route. China does not admit Japan's claim to police the railway zone, and the question is postponed. The work of reconstruction is proceeding, and a memorandum has been signed settling all the other material points at issue.

Prince Ito, speaking at Fakushima, said in regard to a Constitution for Japan that he doubted if she could successfully adopt this. The reasons for his doubts were that the area of the Empire, and the bad facilities for communication, would impede the assembling of a Parliament, especially in a time of emergency ; and the immovable character of Chinese conservatism forbade a change even in the system of taxation. Also that the Chinese were untrained in local administration, the institution of which was an essential prelude to a national assembly.

The King has appointed His Imperial Highness Prince Kuni to be an Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order.

KOREA.—On Prince Ito's retirement the Administration of Justice throughout Korea was abolished, and the court is now made a branch of the Japanese Department according to Korean laws, which will be codified. The Judges will be partly Korean and partly Japanese, all being appointed by the Japanese Government. The Army Department is likewise abolished. It has now practically no functions, since only one battalion of the guard exists, with a few officers and military cadets who will henceforth be supervised by the Chamberlain's bureau.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The delegates appointed to convey the Proclamation of the South African Union to the Home Government arrived in London in July. After several conferences and discussions a Bill creating a Constitution was introduced into Parliament, passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent.

TRANSVAAL.—The Prince of Wales has consented to visit South Africa and open the South African Parliament, probably in the late summer of next year. His Royal Highness may be accompanied by the Princess.

NATAL.—Mr. Arthur Jesse Shepstone, magistrate for the Umvoti division, has been appointed Permanent Secretary for Native Affairs.

HONDURAS.—The King has, by Letters Patent, dated July 20, 1909, reconstituted the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and further provisions for the government of British Honduras.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—The revenue for the Commonwealth for the past financial year amounted to £14,350,000 made up as follows: from Customs £10,844,000; Post Office £3,409,000; and from miscellaneous items £97,000. The receipts from Customs were £801,000 less than in the financial year 1907-08. The expenditure for 1908-09 amounted to £6,419,000. The surplus paid to the States amounted to £7,930,000.

The Commonwealth Treasurer, in concluding his Budget speech, considered the position of Australia as part of the

British nation, a continent containing two billion acres, with a coast-line of 12,000 miles. Sixty years ago the population was 400,000 and there were no railways. The population now amounted to 4,500,000, millions of whom 96 per. cent. were British. They had produced minerals to the value of £713,000,000. Ten million acres were under crop. During the last year Australia had produced 62,000,000 bushels of wheat. It had exported butter to the value of £2,387,000, and wool of the value of £23,000,000. Australia had 90,000,000 sheep, 10,000,000 cattle, and 2,000,000 horses. The overseas trade in 1908 represented £114,000,000.

According to statistics issued by the Commonwealth Government, the Australian States spent in 1907 over £2,500,000 in 7,500 State schools. The total daily average attendance at the schools for the year was 444,000. The disbursements of the States on University education amounted to £113,000.

Mr. Salmon was elected Speaker in the Commonwealth House of Representatives in the place of Sir F. Holder deceased.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Premier in a speech on July 20, in regard to the financial relations existing between the Commonwealth and the State authorities, said he had no misgivings whatever as to the State finances as distinct from the amount returned by the Commonwealth. He said that every State department should exercise rigid economy for the purpose of meeting the decreasing Commonwealth Customs returns. The State's gold industry was good; while trade in copper, coal, pearlina, and timber was in the healthiest condition. The Lands Department showed a record year. Seven hundred and sixty-seven miles of railway had been added during its period of office of the present Administration, and there would shortly be 2,139 miles in operation. The railways profit for the past year amounted to £156,000. The Agricultural Bank had proved a boon to settlers; as the result of advances made,

240,000 acres had been cleared for cultivation by clients of the bank during the year.

**QUEENSLAND.**—The Lieutenant-Governor, in his speech from the Throne on the occasion of the opening of Parliament on June 30 last, congratulated Queensland upon the continued good seasons and its general prosperity. The Government declined to interfere in the question of naval defence, believing that it could best help by settling the rich coast-lands with a self-reliant white population. It was proposed to hold a survey with the view of building a trans-Queensland line, in order to develop the pastoral country and Eastern Australia with some expeditious mail-routes. The revenue for the year ending June 30 amounted to £4,760,000, as compared with £4,488,000 during the previous year. The expenditure was £4,756,000.

Celebrations have taken place to commemorate the jubilee of Queensland as a self-governing State. Lord Dudley, Governor-General of the Commonwealth, opened, on August 12, a Jubilee Exhibition at Brisbane, and delivered an address in which he said that no one could desire a better illustration of the efficiency of self-governing institutions than Queensland's fifty years. He advocated efforts to promote immigration.

**NEWFOUNDLAND.**—Sir Ralph Williams, the new Governor, arrived at St. John's, and received an enthusiastic reception.

**CANADA.**—Lord Strathcona has presented the McGill University, Montreal, of which he is Chancellor, with \$500,000 (£100,000). Of this sum \$450,000 is the sum needed to complete and equip the new medical buildings.

The mining town of Cobalt, Ontario, was practically destroyed by fire on July 2, and damaged to the extent of \$500,000, and 3,000 persons rendered homeless.

The new regulations to govern the fisheries of Canada and the United States will not be put into effect until 1911. They will be published simultaneously in December next, thus giving a full year's notice to all concerned.

Lord Grey has paid a visit to the Yukon, where he was

received with great enthusiasm by the mining population, his felicitous speeches being accepted as proof of the Empire's interest in its northern outpost. On the occasion of his visit to the Lone Star quartz mine, at the inauguration of the new stamps, he predicted a great future for the mining industry, and acknowledged the debt Canada owed to American capitalists and miners in the development of the Yukon.

Official statistics of immigration show for the first time for two years an increase from Great Britain. The increase in June was 909, but the period of three months showed a decrease of 7,354. Immigration from the United States shows an increase of 5,233 in June, and 12,517 in the three months.

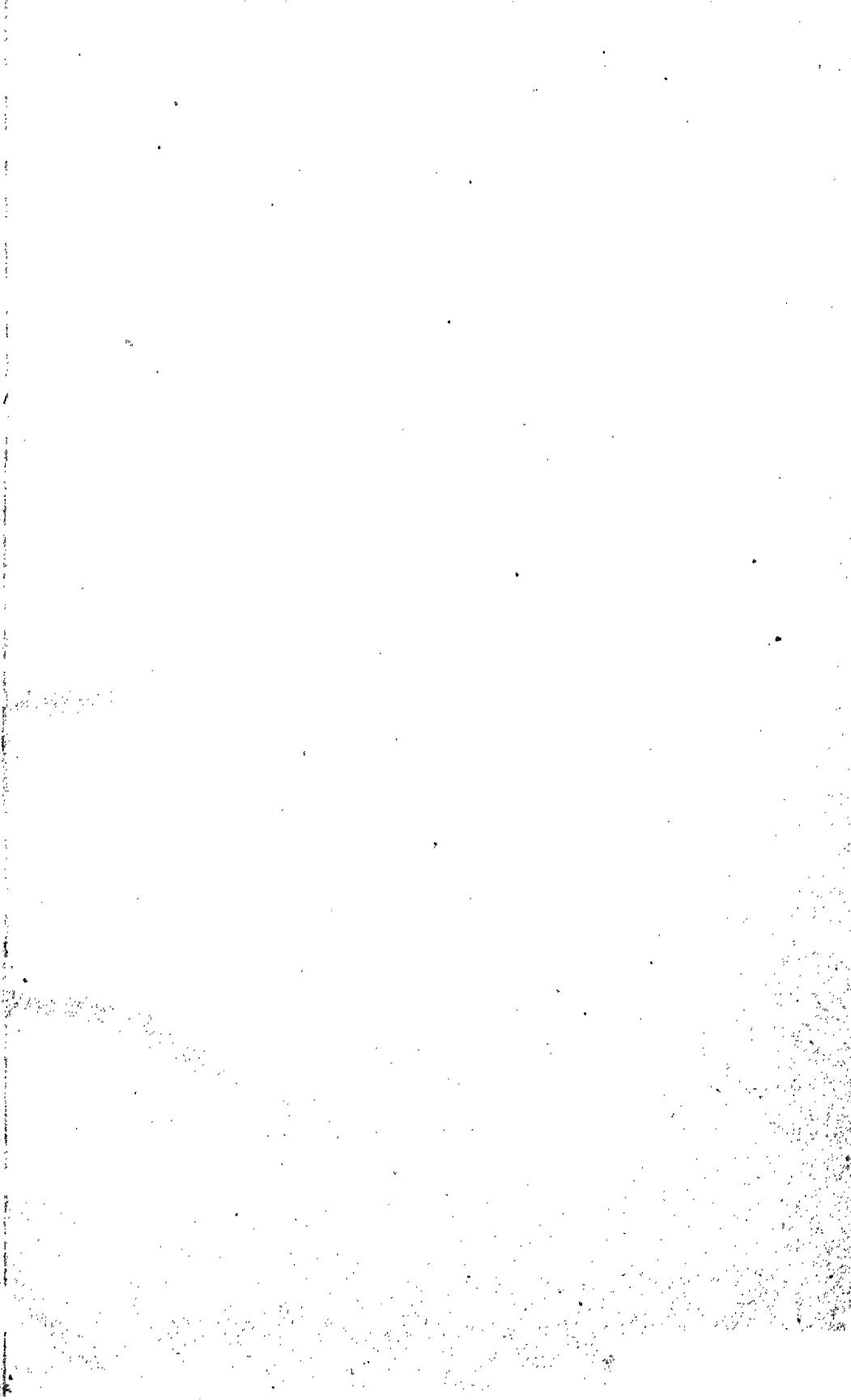
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**OBITUARY.**—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Field-Marshal Sir Frederick Paul Haines, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E.;—Arthur Hugh, I.C.S.;—Major-General Arthur Battye, C.B., late 2nd (K.E.O.) Gurkha Rifles;—Colonel Alexander Shaw, late Indian Army;—Colonel G. H. Oakes, late Indian Army;—Colonel E. C. Garstin, Indian Army (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel A. S. Cameron, v.c. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel William Cleland (Indian Mutiny, Oude 1858, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. Shelton (South Africa);—General Harry McLeod (Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General Sir A. J. H. Elliot (Punjab, Sutlej campaign, Crimea);—Sir Nauroz Khan, Chief of Kharan;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W. H. Curzon Wyllie, K.C.I.E., Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India;—Ernest Andrew Moore, of the Indian Civil Service;—George James Moberly, late Indian Telegraph Department;—Herbert St. John Williams, I.E.S.;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Lamb, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery;—Bazett Colvin, I.C.S. (retired);—C. D. Potter, a retired officer of the Survey of India;—Major-General A. Anderson, late of the Indian Army (Suakin 1885-86, Burmese expedition 1889);—Mr. Justice E. A. Moore, of Rangoon;—Sir Arthur G. Scott, formerly Accountant-General at the India Office;—Major H. Barlow (Nile expedition 1884-85, Upper Nile 1885-86);—General Sir Hugh Rowlands, v.c. (Crimea, Kaffir war 1877-79);—Major-General John Edward Allen (Crimea 1855, Indian Mutiny 1857);—Major-General A. T. Etheridge, late Indian Army (Northern Concan 1846-47, Goojerat 1848, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-59);—Mr. Henry Elworthy, C.I.E.;—Lieutenant Harold Frederick Kilgour, Indian Army;—George Henderson, late Captain Bengal Infantry;—Hugo Enrique Solano, of Bengal;—Captain N. B. E.

Dawes, R.E., Officiating Chief Engineer to the Government of Mysore;—Major-General Arthur Tulloch (North-West Frontier campaign 1854-55, Mutiny, China expedition 1860-61, Bhutan expedition 1864-65, Lushai expedition 1871-72, Afghan war 1878-79);—Most Rev. Mar Dionyseus, Metropolitan of the Syrian Church in India;—General Sir John McQueen, Wilde's Rifles, Indian Frontier Force (Indian Mutiny campaign, against the Cabul Kheyl Wuzerees in 1860, Jowaki campaign 1877-80, Afghan campaign 1878-80, against the Mahsud Wuzerees 1881, Hazara Field Force 1888, Punjab Frontier Force 1886-90);—Lieutenant-General Thomas Edward Webster (Bhutan expedition 1865-66, Afghan war 1880);—Cyril Charles Gaunt, Assistant-Conservator of Forests, Burma;—William Ralph Benson, Bengal Civil Service (retired);—George Scudamore Oddie, I.C.S.;—Lieutenant H. A. Study, Poona Horse;—Harry George Palliser, late Chief Engineer, Public Works Department;—Major William Loraine Conran (Egyptian war 1882, Burma expedition 1885, North-West Frontier campaign 1897);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Hind (Perak expedition 1875-76, Chitral operations 1895, South African war);—Rev. William Henry Hill, one time Missionary in India;—Rev. P. R. Harrison, Indian Chaplain;—Rev. Harold Robert Lonsdale, S.P.G. Missionary in Chota Nagpur;—John Jones, F.R.G.S., late of the East India Company;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Clarkson, Indian Medical Service (retired);—Major-General Andrew Vance Falls, of the Madras Artillery (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844);—Major-General William Noel Waller (Indian Mutiny);—Surgeon-Colonel Ebenezer Robert Butler, Indian Medical Service (retired);—Colonel David William Inglis (Afghan war 1878, Soudan expedition 1885);—Colonel A. Swinton (Indian Mutiny);—Mr. R. E. Lawley, son of Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor of Madras.

*September 15, 1909.*



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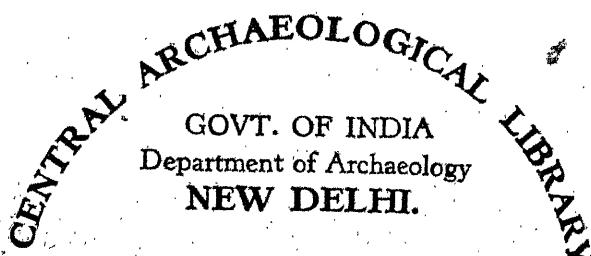
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